A

COLLECTION

F

POLITICAL TRACTS.

By the AUTHOR of the

DISSERTATION upon PARTIES.

THE OCCASIONAL WRITER.

Fidens animi atque in utrumque paratus.
VIRG.

Inſcribed to the PERSON, to whom alone it can belong.

Moſt Noble SIR,

I Am one, whoſe Ambition it hath been, ever ſince I came into the World, to diſtinguiſh myſelf as a Writer; in which, I fairly confeſs, I had not only the View of raiſing my Reputation, but that of eſtabliſhing my Fortune. A Proſpect, which ſeemed very reaſonable in a Time of general Peace and univerſal Affluence; in an Age ſo particularly polite, that it is even the Faſhion to appear knowing in all the elegant Arts and Sciences; and that to whatever Branch of them a Genius ſhall think fit to turn him-

ſelf, he is ſure it will be to one that is in Vogue.

The firſt Eſſays of my Pen made a good Deal of Noiſe in the World; they filled foreign Journals, and were tranſlated into ſeveral Languages. The *Sorbonne*, and both our Mother Univerſities, returned me Thanks for having reconciled ſeveral Diſputes, and ſolved ſeveral Difficulties in Chronology and Hiſtory, which had perplexed the learned World, from the impartial *Euſebius*, down to the circumſtantial *Prideaux*; my philoſophical Poems were received with the greateſt Applauſe; and it is well known, that if the gay Part of the World read my *Anti-Lucretius* for Amuſement, the graveſt Divines have not diſdained to borrow Arguments from it in their Diſputes with the Materialiſts.

Animated by ſuch Succeſs, in one Part of my Aim, I proceeded with indefatigable Labour, till continual Diſappointments, in the other, rendered me at length more indifferent to that imaginary good Applauſe, and leſs patient of that real Evil, Want. I began then to compare my Condition with that of ſeveral great Authors both antient and modern; and finding upon the Compariſon that they had not been better treated than myſelf, I was ſoon led by my Reflections to diſcover the true Reaſon of our ill Fortune in the World; I was ſoon convinced that they and I had been on a wrong Purſuit; that Miniſters of State pay no Reſpect to the brighteſt Talents,

lents, when they are miſapplied, and eſteem all Talents to be ſo, which are not wholly employed about the preſent Time, and principally dedicated to the Service of their Adminiſtration; neither can I ſay this Proceeding is unjuſt, how much ſoever I ſuffer by it.

If we write for Poſterity, we muſt not complain that the Care of rewarding our Merit is left to Poſterity; and if we neglect to ſerve the State, thoſe, who are appointed to preſide over it, break no Rule of Equity when they neglect us. *Spencer* has been amply recompenced by Poſterity for his *Faery Queen*; but the wiſe Treaſurer *Burleigh* declined the Payment of an hundred Pounds, which Queen *Elizabeth* ordered him, and left this admirable Poet to ſtarve. Had *Spencer* applied himſelf to more ſerious Studies, had he excelled in Phyſicks, in Metaphyſicks, or even in the firſt Philoſophy, or in Theology, inſtead of excelling in Wit and Poetry, the *amabiles Inſaniæ* of *Horace*, his Uſage would have been the ſame, no doubt. Even the greateſt Productions of theſe Studies are but Trifles in the Account of a conſummate Stateſman, and may properly enough be diſtinguiſhed from the others in his Senſe, by the Title of *Inſaniæ ſeveriores*.

Our *Engliſh* Miniſters, to their Honour be it ſpoken, have at all Times proceeded upon this admirable Principle; the moſt excellent Sermons, the moſt elaborate Treatiſes, have not been ſufficient to procure the Advance-

ment of ſome Divines, whilſt a ſorry Pamphlet or a ſpiritual Libel has raiſed others to the higheſt Dignities of the Church. As it has fared with mere Divinity, ſo has it fared with mere Eloquence; as one never cauſed the Divine, ſo the other never cauſed the Lawyer to be diſtinguiſhed. But we know that if either of them be employed in a Court Cauſe, he never fails of making his Fortune. The ſame Fate has attended Writers of another Kind; the celebrated *Tatlers*, and *Spectators*, had no Reward except from Bookſellers and Fame. But when thoſe Authors made the Diſcovery I have made, and applied their Talents better, in writing the *Engliſhman* and the *Freeholder*, one was ſoon created a Knight, and the other became Secretary of State. In ſhort, without enumerating any more Inſtances, I may confidently affirm, that this has been the Caſe from the Days of *Burleigh* to this Time; how much ſooner it began to be ſo, I hope, Sir, you will not give me the Leiſure to enquire.

From the Moment I reſolved to become a State-Writer, I mentally devoted myſelf to your Service, and I do it now in this publick and moſt ſolemn Manner. Employ me, Sir, as you pleaſe; I abandon myſelf entirely to you; my Pen is at your Diſpoſition, and my Conſcience in your keeping. Like a Lawyer, I am ready to ſupport the Cauſe, in which, give me Leave to ſuppoſe that, I ſhall be ſoon retained with Ardour; and, if Occaſion be,

with

with Subtilty and Acrimony. Like a *Swiſs*, I will behave myſelf with equal Boldneſs and Fidelity; my Pen is my Fortune, and I think it as honourable to offer it, as offer my Sword, without enquiring in a general Battle, or in private Skirmiſhes, at what Relation or Friend I ſtrike. I cancel at once all former Obligations and Friendſhip, and will moſt implicitly follow your Inſtructions in Panegyrick on Yourſelf and Friends, in Satire on your Adverſaries, in writing for or againſt any Subject; nay, in writing for or againſt the ſame Subject, juſt as your Intereſt, or even your Paſſions, may render it expedient.

I am not ignorant that when *Carneades* offered to argue for Virtue, and then againſt it, *Cato* propoſed to drive that great Philoſopher and Orator out of *Rome*. But *Cato* was a Man of narrow Principles and of too confined an Underſtanding. He conſidered Virtue abſtractedly, without any Regard to Time, to Place, and to that vaſt Variety of Conjunctures, which happen in the Courſe of human Affairs. In common Life, Morality is no doubt neceſſary, and therefore Legiſlators have been careful to enforce the Practice of it; but whenever Morality claſhes with the Intereſt of the State, it muſt be, and it always has been, laid aſide. Theſe are my Opinions, and it is a great Comfort to my Conſcience to find them confirmed by the Practice of ſome reverend Perſons, whoſe Examples ought to be of greater Weight with me, than that of a

wretched *Pagan*; I ſhall therefore ſhew myſelf neither ſqueamiſh nor whimſical in purſuing the Enterprize to which I offer my Services, but ſhall remain firmly perſuaded, that all the moral Vices, I may be occaſionally guilty of in ſo good a Courſe, will be exalted into political Virtues.

After this plain and honeſt Account, which I have given of myſelf, it may be allowed me to ſay, that you cannot find a Perſon better qualified for your Service, or more worthy to be liſted among thoſe, who draw their Pens in your Cauſe, and of whom I am willing to hope that you have a greater and an abler Body in Reſerve, than you have hitherto judged proper to bring into the Field.

It is evident, that a Miniſter, in every Circumſtance of Life, ſtands in as much need of us public Writers as we of him; in his Proſperity he can no more ſubſiſt without daily Praiſe, than we without daily Bread; and the farther he extends his Views, the more neceſſary are we to his Support. Let him ſpeak as contemptuouſly of us as he pleaſes, for that is frequently the Manner of thoſe, who employ us moſt, and pay us beſt; yet will it fare with his Ambition as with a lofty Tree, which cannot ſhoot its Branches into the Clouds, unleſs its Root work into the Dirt, from which it roſe, on which it ſtands, and by which it is nouriſhed.

If a Miniſter falls into Adverſity, ſhall he take up the Pen in his own Defence? Would not

not his Caſe be as deplorable for him to be left to write, as for a Prince to be left to fight in his own Quarrel? Believe me, Sir, whenever Fortune abandons you, (and who knows how ſoon that may happen?) you will find yourſelf in a very forlorn State. At the Name of your Succeſſor, thoſe Crowds, that attend your Levee, will vaniſh like Spirits at the Dawn of Day. None will remain about you, but ſuch as no other Adminiſtration will condeſcend to employ; and we may therefore very probably behold you, which would be a pitiful Sight indeed, endeavouring to ſecure a ſafe Retreat with *H*—— on one Side of you, and *Leh*—— on the other, two groteſque Perſonages, exactly pair'd, and nearly allied, but ſurely as little fit to ſupport a Miniſter in his Decline, as to adorn his Triumph. In ſuch a Turn as this, you may depend on my utmoſt Efforts to keep up a Spirit for you, and I can make no doubt of being ſeconded by ſeveral of my Fellow-Writers, ſince I am certain you will not ſcruple to ſhare ſome Part of that Fortune, which your Induſtry and Parſimony have raiſed, with thoſe who unite to ſave the whole; and ſince we ſhall be reaſonable enough not to expect above Six Pence in the Pound out of it, which cannot well amount to more than fifteen or twenty thouſand Pounds. A trifling Sum for ſo great a Service and ſo weighty a Purſe!

You may perhaps, after all I have ſaid, be ſtill apt to think that theſe are wild Diſcour-

ſes, which have no other Foundation but my Deſire to render myſelf neceſſary. You may refine too much in your Reflexions on my Conduct, and too little in thoſe you make on your preſent Situation; or if you judge rightly of this, it is not impoſſible but you may depend too much on your own Vigilance and Dexterity. Should any of thoſe Flatterers, who often betray their Patrons into a fatal Security, ſpeak to you much in the ſame Manner, as Sleep addreſſes himſelf to *Palinurus* in the fifth Book of the *Æneis*:

— Palinure, ferunt ipſa æquora claſſem,
Æquatæ ſpirant auræ, datur hora quieti;
Pone caput, feſſoſque oculos furare labori:

You would anſwer, I am perſuaded, as this Pilot did.

Mene ſalis placidi vultum, fluctuſque quietos
Ignorare jubes? mene huic confidere monſtro.

But *Palinurus* ſlept, and you know the Conſequence.

Be not therefore diſpleaſed if a ſincere and zealous Servant rouzes you, admoniſhes you not to truſt too much to Appearances, and ſhews you Danger when perhaps you leaſt expect it. You have ſailed long in a ſmooth Sea with gentle and favourable Gales. We believe your Courage and your Abilities extremely great, but we believe it implicitly;

for

for you have not had foul Weather enough to give any confiderable Proofs of either. Thefe Circumftances, which might be abuf-ed to infpire Security, I urge as Reafons why you fhould be alarmed; for the Element you have to deal with is by the Laws of Nature inconftant; and therefore the longer you have been without a Storm, the more Reafon you have to expect one. There is no furer Prefage of an Hurricane than juft fuch a dead Calm as I have obferved for fome Time.

To fpeak without a Figure; I would not have you flatter yourfelf, that the undifturbed Quiet you have fo long enjoyed is merely owing to your own Integrity and political Merit, or to the uncommon Profecution of Hawkers and Pamphleteers, which has been carried on by the Direction of one of your principal Inftruments, and indeed a moft vi-gorous Statefman. This Quiet, Sir, is owing to deep and inveterate Defigns, which it be-comes me to lay before you, without any Regard to the Cenfure I may incur, of re-vealing private Converfation, and of Breach of Truft. Know then that from the Time you came into a Fulnefs of Power, many were fhocked at the Manner in which you feized it, and at the Ufe you made of it. They faid that both were hurtful, indecent, and even fhamelefs. They went ftill farther, and affirmed, that your Conduct was foolifh with Regard to your own Intereft, fince it was foolifh for a Man to truft to one fingle

Expedient of Government, who had ſeveral in his Power; and eſpecially to ſuch an Expedient as that of Money, which would equally ſerve to ſupport him or to hang him. Theſe Perſons, however, notwithſtanding their Diſcontent, reſolved to lye quiet, till your Male-Adminiſtration ſhould become ſo glaring as to juſtify their Oppoſition, even in his Majeſty's Sight; they ſaid they would not follow your Example, and upon that Occaſion they remembered with ſome Sharpneſs how you did your utmoſt to diſtreſs the King's Affairs, upon the firſt Diſguſt you received; nay, they were malicious enough to call to mind ſome perſonal Reflections *, which the Heat of your Imagination, and your Familiarity with Majeſty, betrayed you into, and for which they ſaucily wiſhed what I dare not name. Theſe ſeditious Spirits flattered themſelves that you would do your own Buſineſs when you had the full Swing of your Power. They were acquainted, they ſaid, with the Preſumption and Diſtruſt, with the Boldneſs and Puſillanimity, with the Indiſcretion and Cunning, and with fifty other Contradictions, which made up your Character; and upon theſe they depended for putting a ſpeedy End to your Adminiſtration. This End they imagine to be now at Hand, for thus they reaſon. A Miniſter, who is attacked on his Management of the publick Re-

* See a Pamphlet called *An Anſwer to an infamous Libel*, intitled *Sedition and Defamation diſplayed.* Printed for *R. Francklin.*

venue,

venue, and has all the Advantages of Money and Authority on his Side, may eſcape though he is guilty; but if he is innocent, the Proceedings againſt him in ſuch a Caſe muſt neceſſarily confirm his Power, and eſtabliſh his Reputation; nothing more deſirable than ſuch an Attack can happen to him. But our preſent Miniſter, ſay theſe Malignants, directly ſtops all Enquiry; in publick he evades giving ſuch Accounts as the Repreſentatives of the People have a Right to demand; in private he is modeſt and diſcreet enough to laugh at thoſe, who think him ſuch a Fool as to furniſh Proofs againſt himſelf. Can a Miniſter keep his Ground long, who has no other Defence than an implied Confeſſion of his Guilt? Will ſuch a Behaviour be endured in a Nation hitherto free, and where there remain at leaſt ſome Sparks of Honour, and of Love of the Country?

Theſe and many other Reflections, which for Brevity ſake I omit, upon your particular Conduct, and upon our domeſtick Affairs, are frequently thrown out. But, Sir, I confeſs to you, that I tremble when I hear the ſame Perſons diſcourſe concerning the State of the Nation with regard to her foreign Intereſts. They affirm, and they offer to demonſtrate, that the Affairs of *Europe* never were in greater Confuſion, and that the Part we take upon ourſelves is ſuch an one, as no Nation ever acted which was not betrayed, or whoſe Miniſters were not infatuated. That

you

you are ſo, they ſay, is paſt Diſpute, whether you have conducted theſe Affairs yourſelf, or have left them to thoſe Men of eminent Talents, who are concerned in this Part of your Adminiſtration; they inſiſt that nothing could have happened to us, if you had intirely neglected our foreign Intereſts, worſe than what you have brought upon us, by running into the other Extreme. For they aſk, what is the Fruit of your continual Negociations, ſupported by a vaſt Expence, and carried on as buſily as if the Welfare of *Great Britain* had been at Stake in every Diſpute which has happened on the Continent? They anſwer for you, and they defy you to contradict them, that we have made the Quarrels of other People our own, and that we find ourſelves engaged as Principals, in ſome Caſes where we have but a very remote Concern, and in others where we have no Concern at all. That our Commerce ſuffers and runs the Riſque of being loſt, not for a Time, but for ever, in ſeveral Branches, much more beneficial to us than the *Oſtend* Trade, and that our Right to keep thoſe important Poſſeſſions, which were yielded to us in the moſt ſolemn and authentick Manner, is come, by Dint of Negotiation, from being indiſputable, to be called in Queſtion. In a Word, that to reſtore the publick Tranquility, and to ſettle our own Intereſts, we muſt engage in a new War and conclude a new Peace; that you have contrived to make it impoſſible for us

 to

to do One, without fighting againſt the very Principle for which we have fought ever ſince the Revolution, or to attempt the other without lying under the particular Circumſtance, that our principal Allies will be as much in earneſt as our Enemies to wreſt out of our Hands the chief Advantages which we obtained by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, At the Time when theſe Treaties were made, continue they, your *Great Miniſter* cried aloud and ſpared not. He complained, as much as any Man, that the exorbitant Power of *France* was not ſufficiently reduced, and that the Barriers of our Allies, on the *Rhine* and in the *Netherlands*, were left too weak; and is it under his Adminiſtration that we are to ſee a Pretence given to the *French*, and an Opportunity thrown into their Hands, of ſtrengthening their Power, and of extending their Barriers? When I tell theſe Objectors that your *Brother* anſwers for the Court of *France*, they laugh in my Face, and reply, Well he may, and ſo might any of thoſe, who were in the *French* Intereſt, have done at the Time when the Triple Alliance was broken, and *France* was encouraged by *England* to fall upon the *Dutch*. The Miniſters, who are anſwered for, would be as weak as he who anſwers for them, if they did not ſee the Advantage in the preſent Juncture, and did not take a ſecret malicious Pleaſure in making us, who contributed ſo much to reduce their Power, become the Inſtruments of raiſing it again.

again. In the Caſe of a War then, we have, according to this reaſoning, which really, Sir, has an Air of Truth, nothing ſo much to fear as the Aſſiſtance of our chief Ally; and in the Caſe of a Treaty, not only *France*, but *Holland* likewiſe, muſt be againſt us in that important Article of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, and in all particular Advantages of Commerce, which we have enjoyed, and may find it reaſonable to pretend to. The late Duke of *Orleans*, as dear a Friend as he was to us, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly, that we ſhould give up the Places before-mentioned; pretended a Promiſe to this Effect, and himſelf obliged in Honour to ſee this Promiſe kept. Every one, who knows any Thing of the Tranſactions of thoſe Times, knows with how envious an Eye the *Dutch* beheld the ſeparate Privileges in Trade, and the ſole Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar*, and of the Iſland of *Minorca*, which we obtained at the laſt Peace, and what Lengths they would have gone to facilitate the Negociations, which at that Time they oppoſed, if they might have been admitted to a Share in theſe Advantages.

The Danger of an immediate Invaſion, and the Engagements entered into by the Emperor and the King of *Spain* to inſult us with their Fleets, and to conquer *Great Britain* and *Ireland* for the Pretender, have been very induſtriouſly propagated by thoſe, who are already in your Pay, and by me, who ſtand a Candidate for this Honour, but am hitherto a

Volun-

Voluntier in your Service. I am ſorry to tell you, Sir, but Heaven forbid that I ſhould conceal ſo material a Circumſtance from your Knowledge; we do not ſucceed. We raiſe a Spirit, but this Spirit turns againſt you. There are more People than ever againſt the Pretender; and Zeal for ſupporting the preſent Eſtabliſhment never ran higher. But this Zeal is not any longer without Knowledge; it is directed to its proper Object, and there is no Poſſibility of leading it hoodwinked to ſerve any other Purpoſes. Some incredulous Wretches there are, who ſmile when we talk to them of Invaſions and the Pretender, and who content themſelves to reply that the Machine is very ſeaſonably introduced, and according to the Rules of Art. The greater Number take Fire, and lay this new Diſtreſs, which we threaten them with, at your Door; for, they ſay, that we diſobliged *Spain* ſome Years ago, to tye the Emperor the more firmly to us, and that we have ſince that Time diſobliged the Emperor, by affecting a cloſer Correſpondence, and greater Union of Councils with *France*, than ever was known between the two Nations. They ſend us to that excellent Treatiſe, *The Barrier Treaty vindicated*, to learn our true and laſting Intereſt in foreign Alliances, and there they pretend that we ſhall find the Condemnation of all your Meaſures; they lament the miſerable Scene, which they apprehend may ſoon be opened, his Majeſty's foreign Dominions expoſed to all

all the Calamities of War, and perhaps in Danger of being loſt; we ourſelves ſtruggling againſt domeſtic Enemies, and defending our Coaſts againſt Invaſions; theſe Miſchiefs brought upon us by a Conjunction of the Emperor, our old Ally, with the King of *Spain* his Rival; a Conjunction ſo unnatural that nothing but the higheſt Reſentment at our Behaviour to them both could have brought it about; in ſhort, to finiſh up the Picture, *Great Britain* reduced in this Diſtreſs to lean ſolely upon *France*, and the Faith of that Court to become our chief Security.

Upon the whole Matter, your Enemies, Sir, the Subſtance of whoſe private Converſation I have now honeſtly reported to you, conclude very inſolently that you have filled up the Meaſure of your Iniquity and your Folly, and that you muſt ſink, or the Nation muſt ſink under the Weight of that Calamity, which you have brought and ſuffered to be brought upon her.

As ſhocking as this Account muſt be to your Ears; I promiſe myſelf that the Sincerity and Plainneſs, with which I have given it, will be agreeable to you, and that you will receive into your Boſom a Man whoſe Affection for your Perſon and Zeal for your Service, muſt be above all Suſpicion, after giving you Intelligence of ſo high a Nature, without any Stipulation for the Diſcovery.

I expect

I expect to hear from you in eight Days from the Date hereof; if I do not, you ſhall hear again from him, who is,

Moſt Noble SIR,

Your Honour's

moſt devoted Servant,

From my Garret,
Jan. 1726-7.

The OCCASIONAL WRITER.

The OCCASIONAL WRITER.

NUMBER II.

To the Same.

Moſt Noble SIR,

I Think myſelf obliged in Honour to let the World know, that you have treated all my Propoſals to write in your Service with a Contempt unuſual from one in your Station; for I have ſeen the Times when every little paultry Proſtitute of his Pen found

Countenance and Encouragement. These Wretches are sure of both, whenever there are any bad Measures to be justified, or any bold Strokes to be given; and the croaking of these Ravens has always, in my Imagination, boded some Mischief or other to the Commonwealth.

For this Reason, I took upon me the Character of a most infamous Libeller in my first Address to you, that I might be able to make a surer Judgment of our present Condition, and know better what Expectations to entertain; so that I own I am most agreeably disappointed in not receiving any Letter or Message from you. I own, that instead of biting you, I am fairly bit myself.

Some malicious Refiners may pretend, perhaps, that an Address of such a Nature, made in so publick a Manner, could meet with no other Treatment, even from a Minister, who was willing to accept the Proposal. Malice, I say, may refine thus, and endeavour to depreciate a virtuous Action, which cannot be denied, by supposing such Motives to it as cannot be proved. The Practice is too common, and especially where Men are divided into Parties, where publick Disputes create and nourish private Animosities, and where perpetual Feuds irritate the natural Malignity of the Heart. But far be it from me to judge with so little Charity; I am willing to believe, Sir, that you declined the Offers made you, not on Account of the publick Address,

Addreſs, by which they were conveyed, but becauſe you diſdained to ſupport a virtuous Adminiſtration by a venal Pen.

When I meet a Man with loaded Piſtols in his Pocket, or a Dagger under his Cloak, I ſuſpect that he is going upon no very honourable Deſigns. Houſe-breakers and Coiners have been detected by having their Tools found upon them. Informers, Spies, and hireling Scribblers are the Tools of an evil Stateſman; and when I ſee all ſuch diſcouraged, and none of them about a Miniſter, I think myſelf obliged to ſuppoſe that his Deſigns are honourable, and his Meaſures directed to the public Good.

I take this Opportunity, therefore, of begging your Pardon for the Trial I preſumed to make. The Liberty indeed was great; but ſince it has turned ſo vaſtly to your Honour, I hope to be the more eaſily forgiven. Shall I own it, Sir? My Hopes go ſtill farther; you diſdained me under the feigned Character which I aſſumed; from the ſame Principle of Honour, from the ſame Conſciouſneſs of Merit, you will, nay, you muſt afford me ſome Share of your Eſteem, when I appear, as I intend to do for the future, under my own. Theſe Papers ſhall breathe nothing but Zeal to promote the Honour of his Majeſty, the Security of our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and in one Word, the Good of our Country. The ſame Spirit, which animates you and me, ſhall animate them; and I cannot doubt of

your Approbation, when I co-operate with you to theſe Purpoſes, which were certainly the ſole Inducements you had to enter into Buſineſs; as it is manifeſt that you continue at the Head of Affairs for no other Reaſons.

The Truth is, however, (for I think it becoming a Friendſhip, which is likely to grow as intimate as ours, that I ſhould diſguiſe nothing from you) two Things have lately happened, which gave ſome little Shock to my good Opinion of you. The firſt is an Unwillingneſs you manifeſted, that the true State of the national Debts ſhould be known by the Nation, and the ſevere Cenſure you paſſed on ſuch Perſons, as were deſirous to give their Countrymen a fair Account of their Condition in a Part ſo eſſential, that our being a Nation, or not a Nation, depends almoſt entirely, in this Criſis, on our running or not running farther into Debt. The other is the Publication of a Pamphlet ſuppoſed to be written by your Direction, which is evidently deſigned to keep us no leſs in the dark as to all our Affairs abroad.

As to the firſt, that Matter has been taken up already; and will, I doubt not, *in all Places, and in all Manners*, be ſo thoroughly ſifted, that we ſhall no longer be at a Loſs, either as to the Revenue, and the real Charges upon it, or as to the whole Management of it. In which Examination, Sir, let me adviſe you, as a Friend, to act an ingenuous Part,

that

that Suſpicions may not increaſe, and that I may not be obliged to write to you in a Stile, to which I ſhall turn my Pen with Reluctancy.

As to the latter, I hope, it will be likewiſe examined; and if I was able to take ſuch a Taſk on myſelf, I ſhould, I am perſuaded, in doing ſo, but make a ſecond Trial of you to your Glory, and knit the Bands of our Friendſhip the cloſer, by anſwering a Pamphlet of ſo pernicious Conſequence, and writ with ſo ill a Deſign. But I know my own Unfitneſs to inform, to inſtruct, and to rouſe our Countrymen, ſome from their Lethargy, and ſome from their golden Dreams. I may toll the Alarm-bell, but Perſons of greater Strength and Skill muſt be called upon to raiſe it, and to ring it out in the Ears of the Nation.

We are grown more eaſy, nay, more willing than ever, to be impoſed upon; and we do more than half the Work of thoſe, who find their Account in deluding us. Almoſt every Man conſiders himſelf as a ſingle Perſon; thoſe few, who extend their Conſiderations farther, ſeldom or never carry them beyond the narrow Syſtem of a Family, or a Party. And thus it happens, that private Intereſt is become the Criterion, by which Judgments are formed upon publick Affairs. The Man, whoever he be, who is at any Time in Faſhion, has nothing to do but to hold out that Purſe, which the more he empties it, the

ſurer he is to fill. After which let him declaim imperiouſly, and aſſert boldly, without regarding Proof, or condeſcending to argue; let one of his Tools write a Pamphlet in much the ſame Strain, and the Work is done, the Opinion of Mankind is ſettled, the Crowd repeats what the Orator has ſaid, and the Author writ; the Clamour is echoed back on all Sides, and theſe Echoes, the Reverſe of all others, ſtrengthen by Repetition. Thus the Corrupt lead the Blind, and the Blind lead one another; the ſtill Voice of Reaſon is drowned in popular Clamour, and Truth is overwhelmed by Prejudice.

This is a true Account of what happens frequently; it is ſo far from being a Deſcription drawn from Imagination, that I could give ſeveral Inſtances, and perhaps ſhall have Occaſion to quote ſome, of ſuch groſs Impoſitions on the common Senſe of Mankind, offered in this Manner, and offered with Succeſs, as no one would be bold enough to attempt putting on the weakeſt Man in *Britain* in private Converſation.

There are therefore, God knows, but too many Reaſons for him to deſpond, who entertains a Thought of prevailing on the Generality of People, to lay aſide their Prejudices, to check their Paſſions, and to conſider the State of the Nation in a due Extent, and in a true Light; and yet ſuch is our Condition, ſuch a Criſis are we in, that if we do not take and execute this Reſolution now,

it may very probably be out of our Power to do it hereafter to any good Purpoſe.

In our Senate we hear of great Dangers, which we have to apprehend from abroad; and, if we believe what is ſaid in a foreign * State, we are expoſed to very great ones at home. I am willing to hope, that both one and the other are magnified; but they may grow to be ſuch in Reality as they are repreſented to be, if we do not take more than ordinary Care; firſt, to weigh in a juſt Balance *each* of the many Evils which threaten the Nation; and ſecondly, if we do not penetrate into *every one* of the Cauſes, which have combined to bring them upon us. Should we fail in this Point, we may increaſe our Dangers from abroad, by over-rating thoſe at home, and by applying ourſelves ſolely to prevent the latter. But I believe no one thinks us diſpoſed to run into this Extreme; we are much more likely to run into the other, and to increaſe our Dangers at home, by over-rating thoſe which we apprehend from abroad. Should we fail in the ſecond Point, and neglect to penetrate into all the Cauſes which combine to bring our preſent Diſtreſs upon us, palliative Remedies alone will be applied, in the Uſe of which we may very probably expire after a tedious Languor, but from which we cannot expect a radical Cure.

* *Vide* Letter from *Stockholm*.

Convinced, therefore, that if we neglect the present Moment, if every Man does not think and write, and speak and act for his Country at this Time, according to his best Talents, and according to the Opportunities, which he has of exerting them, we shall soon be in every Sense a ruined Nation.

I confess, that I am impatient, however low my Hopes of Success run, till some abler Pen accepts the Invitation, which *the Enquirer into the Reasons of the Conduct of* Great Britain gives to every Member of this Community, till an Enquiry is made, according to the Right which he is pleased to allow, into our present State, and into the Measures which have led to it. But then this Enquiry must be made upon better Principles, and with an honester View than he has, who made this, which lies before me; the Person, who accepts his Invitation, should be one, who would blush to follow his Example; for he acts the Part of an Apologist, where he professes to act that of an impartial Enquirer; he seems very zealous for the *Success* of the Cause, which he pleads, and very indifferent what *Means* he employs to procure this *Success*; many Things are disguised, many are concealed, and hardly any are represented in their natural and proper Light. Fallacy, Sophism, and a puerile Declamation, swell the elaborate Treatise; but there was a Design perhaps, as well as Habit, in such a Manner of Writing upon this Occasion, since a bad Cause must

be

be defended by ſuch Means; and, therefore, by ſuch Pens as would diſgrace and weaken a good one; ſince it may poſſibly appear upon a fair Examination, that the Cauſe he is retained in, is none of the beſt.

If this ſhould appear, I am apt to believe, that thoſe, who ſet him at work, will not be much concerned; they could not look on this Pamphlet as any Thing better than a momentary Expedient to miſlead and inflame. If it has that Effect, if it ſerves to keep up the Deluſion till all the Jobs, which are to be done, are done; the Ends, which they propoſed to themſelves, are perhaps anſwered. But if this Nation ſhould awaken to a Senſe of their true Intereſt, and if the *Britiſh Spirit* ſhould once more revive amongſt us, it might very well happen that theſe Perſons would have made a faulty Reckoning; for ſurely, after having exerciſed the Juſtice of the Nation, by cenſuring in one Parliament a Treaty of Peace, which has been approved in *another*, it will not be thought ſtrange, if we puniſh at one Time or another thoſe, who have negotiated us out of Peace and Tranquility, into War and Confuſion, although the Wiſdom of the Nation ſhould think fit to ſupport for the preſent the Meaſures of theſe Miniſters.

The *Enquirer* ſuppoſes the whole Face of Affairs in *Europe* to have received the great Alteration, which he is ſo much ſurprized at, within the Space of the laſt Year; but I cannot

not agree with him, that the Turn has been ſo ſudden as he repreſents it. *The Calm hardly to be paralleled by any paſt Proſpect*, as this great Maſter of Style expreſſes himſelf by a Figure of *Hibernian* Rhetorick, was accompanied, as Calms frequently are, by many Signs of an approaching Storm; which Signs did not eſcape the Obſervation of the Sailors, and even Paſſengers in our Veſſel, though they eſcaped that of our able Pilots, who were it ſeems all that while in a moſt ſerene Security. The particular Evils which we apprehend at preſent, were known to our Miniſters above a Year ago; if it be true, as the *Enquirer* affirms, that the Treaty of *Hanover*, and Negociations, in Conſequence of it, are *the Steps, which the Court of* Great Britain *thought fit to take as ſoon as poſſible, after the Danger we were in appeared evident beyond all Contradiction*. But before the particular Danger appeared, the general Danger was evident enough. When the Treaty of *Vienna* was made, our Ship ſtruck; but we had been ſailing among Rocks and Shoals long before, ever ſince we quitted our Port, and launched out to Sea, on the wiſe Errand of convoying other People ſafe to theirs.

He therefore, who is deſirous to make the Enquiry propoſed, in ſuch a Manner as may be of real Uſe to the Publick, muſt take up Things much higher than this partial Writer was inſtructed to do. Many things happened during the Congreſs of *Cambray*, which deſerve

deserve to be explained; and there are Treaties both previous and subsequent to the Quadruple Alliance, which deserve to be commented upon.

Nay, there seems to be a Necessity of going farther back than this Reign, or even than this Century, if we design to be thoroughly acquainted with the Original of our present Distress. When we have taken a general Survey of the Conduct of *Britain*, with relation to the Affairs of *Europe*, for about two hundred Years, we shall come much better prepared to discover our true Point of Interest; and by observing how we have departed from it, we shall learn how to return to it.

This Part I will venture to undertake; and what I shall say upon it, may serve at least as an Introduction to that Work, which, I hope, will be performed by some abler Hand.

The Foundations of the Grandeur of *France*, and those of the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*, were laid very near at the same Period. *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* began the latter; and in *Charles* V. their Grandson, and almost immediate Successor, it was carried up to that exorbitant Height, which made *Europe* tremble under his Reign, under that of his Son, and upon some Occasions even later. The Progress which *France* made, was not so rapid, but was perhaps as sure; she shared with her Rival the Spoils of the House of *Burgundy*, by the Address and

Vigour

Vigour of *Lewis* XI. who not only extended the Bounds, and ſtrengthened the Frontier of that cloſe compact Body, (whoſe very Figure is an Addition to the Force of it,) but aſſured its inward Tranquility better, and rendered that Monarchy more formidable than it had been in the Time of his Predeceſſors, when the Authority of the Prince was leſs.

The forming of two ſuch Powers, in *Europe*, made it the Intereſt of all other Princes and States, to keep as much as poſſible a Balance between them. And here began that Principle of *Engliſh* Policy to be eſtabliſhed, which, however true and wiſe in itſelf, has hardly ever been truly and wiſely purſued.

We ſhould take Things rather too high, if we went up to the Reign of King *Henry* VII. though even there ſome Obſervations are to be made, which have Relation to our preſent Subject,

Frequent and important Occaſions of acting on this Principle preſented themſelves in the Time of *Henry* VIII. Some he took, ſome he neglected, and ſome he managed ill; for to ſay the Truth, the whole Conduct of this Prince was a continued Courſe of Extravagance, Violence, and Levity; his Vices glared through the beſt Actions of his Life. He exercifed the Tyranny, and practiſed the bloody Precepts of the Church of *Rome*, even while he was delivering us from the Papal Yoke. His Deliberations for Peace or War ſeemed often

often to have a Mixture of Humour in them; and his own Paſſions, as well as *Wolſey's*, made him hold the *Balance* of *Europe*, if he did hold it, with an uneven Hand.

The Reformation, which began in his Time in *Germany*, and which was completed by *Edward* VI. and by Queen *Elizabeth*, in *England*, gave Occaſion to a new Diviſion of Intereſts; and made it of the utmoſt Importance to the Welfare of this Nation, not only to preſerve a Balance between the two great Powers of *Europe*, but to ſupport the Proteſtant Cauſe againſt them both. The firſt of theſe was to be done by throwing as much as the Occaſion might require of our Weight, ſometimes into one, and ſometimes into the other of theſe Scales; but the latter could be effected by nothing leſs than a conſtant Adherence to that Side, which was for a long Time the weakeſt, and which, I doubt, is ſtill ſo.

Both theſe Principles were purſued by Queen *Elizabeth*, with the greateſt Wiſdom, and with the greateſt Succeſs. To illuſtrate this fully, it would be neceſſary to run through the Annals of her glorious Reign. But a few general Obſervations will ſuffice for our preſent Purpoſe. When ſhe came to the Crown, the Nation was divided between two powerful Parties, exaſperated by religious Zeal; *Ireland* was Papiſt, *Scotland* was under the immediate Influence of *France*, and the Queen of that Kingdom married to the Dauphin of

of *France*, disputed her Title to the Crown of *England*. In short, the surest Support she had amidst all these Difficulties, besides the Firmness of her Mind, and the Penetration of her Understanding, was in *Philip* II. whom she disobliged by refusing to make him her Husband; and who could not fail of being on many Accounts, as he proved to be, her most implacable and dangerous Enemy; she kept Measures for a while with him, nay, perhaps, with the Court of *Rome*, and soon settled her Government, and established her Power; her own Kingdom was the first and principal Object of her Care; and she judged very wisely, that, in order to be considerable abroad, she must begin by making herself so at home. Her Revenue was administered with the utmost Frugality, Industry was encouraged, Manufactures improved, and Commerce extended; she was far from neglecting foreign Alliances, but her Negotiations were conducted with great Art, and little Expence, and the Engagements she took were always necessary, seldom chargeable. She supported the Protestant Cause in *France*, with good Offices, with Loans of Money; and upon some pressing Occasions with Troops. But she never depended on the Gratitude of *Henry* IV. and was neither surprized nor unprepared when he made Returns very unworthy of the Obligations he had to her. The *Dutch* could not have sustained their Revolt from *Spain*, nor have formed their Commonwealth,

wealth, without her Aſſiſtanee. She helped them powerfully, but ſhe exacted cautionary Towns from them, as a Security for her Reimburſement, whenever they ſhould be in a Condition to pay; and in the mean Time as a Check, to keep them under the Influence and Direction of *England*. By ſuch Methods as theſe, her own Country grew rich and flouriſhing, while ſhe not only preſerved a Balance of Power abroad, but contributed extremely to reduce *Spain* from being the Terror of *Europe*, to that low State, into which it fell under the Succeſſors of King *Philip* II.

The Reign of King *James* I. is not to be read without a Mixture of Indignation and Contempt. He came to the Crown with great Advantages; but a bad Head and a worſe Heart hindered him from improving any of them. He loſt the Opportunity of uniting the two Kingdoms, he ſuffered his Revenue to be ill adminiſtered, his Miniſters were notoriouſly corrupt, and he himſelf very profuſe.

Inſtead of aſſuaging, he fomented Diſputes by his Pedantry; eſtabliſhed ſuch Principles of Government, and raiſed ſuch a Spirit in the Clergy as could hardly fail to produce the terrible Effects, which followed in the Reign of his Son.

Such a Management of domeſtic Affairs would have put it out of his Power, if it had been his Inclination to act a wiſer Part in

foreign Affairs; but he had no ſuch Inclination. Twelve Years he ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with the *Spaniſh* Match; he countenanced at leaſt the Popiſh, and he abſolutely neglected the Proteſtant Intereſt, both in *France* and *Germany*. Inſtead of helping the Diſpoſitions, which appeared, to take the Imperial Crown out of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, he favoured the Cauſe of that Family, and abandoned his own Children to the Reſentment of the Emperor and the Popiſh League. When the Thirty Years War began in 1618, the Liberty of *Germany*, and the whole Proteſtant Intereſt were in the utmoſt Peril. The ſole Meaſures, which he took for the Support of either, conſiſted in ſimple Embaſſies, ridiculous Letters, and languid Negotiations. Queen *Elizabeth* defeated the ambitious Deſigns of the *Spaniſh* Branch of the *Auſtrian* Family; King *James* favoured thoſe of the *German* Branch of the ſame Family.

Over the ſucceeding Reign, and all that followed, to the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. let us draw a Veil.

During this Time the Decay of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy increaſed apace, the Liberties of *Germany* were aſſerted, and the Power of the Emperor bounded by the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*; but another Power, That of *France*, began to riſe very faſt on the Foundations laid long ago. *Richelieu* and *Mazarine* had given that Crown a great Superiority in the Affairs of *Europe*, and the Prince, who wore

it, resolved to maintain and augment this Superiority, at the Expence of all his Neighbours.

The Attack which *Lewis* XIV. made upon the *Low Countries* in 1667, shewed both in the Manner of it, and in the Pretence taken for it, what *Europe* had to expect from this Prince. On this Occasion the Triple Alliance was made, and happy had it been if the same Principles of Policy had continued to prevail. But the King who sat on our Throne, with better Sense and more Courage than his Grandfather, was at least as unfit as he to defend the Liberties of *Europe*, and perhaps more unfit to defend the Protestant Interest.

King *Charles* II. joined his Councils and his Arms to those of *France*; and when he could not openly assist, he privately abetted the Usurpations of that Crown. He might, by conforming to the Desires of his People, who were in his and their true Interest, have had the immortal Honour of preserving a Balance of Power in *Europe*; but he chose the eternal Infamy of helping to destroy this Balance; and not content to be the Ally of a Prince, whose Enemy he ought to have been, he condescended to be his Instrument, and even his Pensioner. This Conduct, which took too much Strength from that Side, which was already too weak, and which added so much to that, which was already too strong, established the absolute Superiority of *France*, and left *Spain*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and the seven-

teen Provinces, nay and *Britain* too in Consequence, at her Mercy.

This terrible Face of Things did not mend on the Acceſſion of King *James* II. to the Throne. Whatever his Politicks were, Religion would have got the better of them. Bigotry muſt have cemented a cloſe Union between him and the King of *France*, who was alone able and willing to aſſiſt him in the Work he had undertaken at home. But the Greatneſs of our Danger, as it ſometimes happens, ſaved us; and in ſaving us, ſaved all *Europe*. The Revolution in our Government cauſed a total Change in our Conduct. A Prince, who had been long at the Head of a weak but reſolute Oppoſition to *France*, mounted our Throne; and the Principles of maintaining a Balance between the great Powers of *Europe*, and of ſupporting the Proteſtant Intereſt, came once more into Faſhion in this Kingdom, after having been for near a Century, either neglected, or acted againſt.

The Body of the Nation reſumed theſe Principles with Warmth, and has ſupported them ever ſince with unparalleled Spirit and Vigour. But let it be ſaid without Offence, ſince it may be ſaid with Truth, and ſince it is neceſſary that it ſhould be ſaid upon this Occaſion, we have not purſued them with as much Wiſdom as Zeal. If we have erred in our Politicks ſince the Revolution, it is ſure we have erred on the right Side. But

Errors

Errors on the right Side are Errors ſtill, and may in Time prove as fatal as Errors on the other; and are in one reſpect at leaſt more dangerous, as they are leſs attended to at firſt, or guarded againſt.

Between all Extremes there is a certain middle Point which Men of Genius perceive, and to which Men of Honour adhere in private and in publick Life.

Thus Avarice and Prodigality are at an immenſe Diſtance; but there is a Space marked out by Virtue between them, where Frugality and Generoſity reſide together. Thus again; to abandon thoſe, whom it is our Intereſt to ſupport, is an Exceſs of Folly; and to ſupport the Intereſts of other People, to the Ruin of our own, is an Exceſs of Folly likewiſe. But there are Lines deſcribed by Prudence between theſe two Exceſſes, within which our common Intereſts meet, and may proceed together.

It would be an invidious as well as tedious Taſk, to go through all the Inſtances, which might be produced; wherein we have, under pretence of preſerving *a Balance of Power in Europe*, gratified the Paſſions of particular Men, and ſerved the Turns of private Intereſt, till we have rendered that Principle, in a reaſonable Purſuit of which our Safety, and our Glory conſiſt, the Occaſion of real Danger to the Intereſt, and of Reproach to the Wiſdom of our Nation. A few of theſe Inſtances will ſuffice to deduce the

Progreſs of our *miſtaken Policy*, to evince the *Truth* of what has been advanced in *general*, and to fix the Application of the whole to the *preſent Conjuncture*; wherein I apprehend, that we are about to pay the Price not only of late *Errors*, but a *long Series* of *Errors*.

The War, which began in 1688, was no doubt a very neceſſary War. It was neceſſary to extinguiſh the Rebellion in *Scotland*; it was neceſſary to reduce *Ireland*; it was neceſſary to aſſert the new Eſtabliſhment of our Government. Theſe were our *immediate Intereſts*; but we had *remote Intereſts* likewiſe concerned, which were of themſelves ſufficient to engage us to enter, at leaſt as Allies and Friends, into the War. The *Empire* was in Danger by the taking of *Philipsburgh*, and other Enterprizes of the *French*; and *Holland* lay once more open to their Invaſions, by the ſeizing of *Bonne*. In the Courſe of this War, *Ireland* was reduced; all the Efforts againſt the Government in *England* and *Scotland* were defeated; and by the Peace, *France* acknowledged King *William*.

As unfortunate as we had been on the *Rhine* and in *Flanders*, every Thing, which the *French* had taken in the Courſe of the War from our Allies, was reſtored at *Ryſwick*; and *Luxembourg*, which *France* had uſurped before the War, was likewiſe given up. Thus far all was well. The Points, which

England

England contended for, were carried; and our Allies recovered by Treaty more than they had loſt by War.

If a common Guaranty of this Treaty had been entered into as ſoon as thoſe Powers acceded, who refuſed to ſign when *England* and *Holland* did; the Tranquillity of *Europe* would have been better ſecured, than it was at this Time, or at the Peace of *Nimeghen*; at leaſt *England* would have engaged, as far as it became her to do, even upon the Principle of maintaining the Balance of Power, and no farther.

But inſtead of taking this Step, we took another, which proved fatal in its Conſequences. The Death of *Charles* II. King of *Spain*, without Children, was then in Proſpect. The Pretenſions of *France* were known, and its Power had been lately felt. Whenever the Caſe ſhould happen, a War ſeemed to be unavoidable. But this War muſt have been made by *France* alone, for the Conqueſt of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; which, as powerful as we then thought her, and as inſolent as ſhe really was, ſhe would not have engaged in lightly. Neither could ſhe have ſupported it, if ſhe had, ſince even with *Spain* on her Side ſhe could not have ſupported the laſt, if the Mines of *Peru* had not been *unaccountably* left open to her.

On the Apprehenſion, however, of ſuch a War, and on the ſpecious Pretence of preſerving a Balance of Power in *Europe*, the

Partition Treaties were made; that is, without the Knowledge of the King of *Spain*, we disposed of his Inheritance; without the Consent of the Emperor, and in Concert with his adverse Party, we settled the Rights contested between the House of *Austria* and *Bourbon*; and we engaged to make this *Partition* good by *Arms*.

I do not enter into the Reasons for and against this Treaty, which may be drawn from the particular Stipulations contained in it, but content myself to observe in general, what impolitic Measures we were at this Period betrayed into, by an over-weening Desire to preserve the Balance of Power; and how much Reason we have to be always on our Guard against Errors of this Kind, since a *Prince*, whom *Genius* and *Experience* had rendered the greatest Man of his Age, was not exempt from them, but drew both *England* and *Holland* fatally into them.

Whenever this Balance is in real Danger by the exorbitant Growth of one Power, or by the Union of more, other Princes and States will be alarmed of Course. All of them ought, and most of them will take Measures for their common Security. But the *wise Councils* amongst them will, upon every such Occasion, proportion their Measures, and the Engagements they enter into, not according to the Nature of the Danger *considered generally*, but according to the *immediate* or *remote* Relation, which it has to *each* of them, and

and according to the *Strength*, *Situation*, or any other Circumſtance, which may be peculiar to them.

To do otherwiſe, would be to loſe Sight of our own particular Intereſt in the Purſuit of a common Intereſt. It would be nothing better than ſetting up for the *Don Quixotes* of the World, and engage to fight the Battles of all *Mankind*. The State which keeps its *own particular Intereſt* conſtantly in View, has no invariable Rule to go by; and this Rule will direct and limit all its Proceedings in foreign Affairs; ſo that ſuch a State will frequently take *no* Share, and frequently a *ſmall* Share in the Diſputes of its Neighbours, and will never exert its *whole* Strength, but when its *Whole* is at Stake. But a State who neglects to do This, has no Rule at all to go by, and muſt fight to negotiate, and negotiate to fight again, as long as it is a State; becauſe as long as it is a State, there will be Diſputes among its Neighbours, and ſome of theſe will prevail at one Time, and ſome at another, in the perpetual Flux and Reflux of human Affairs.

If the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and the Emperor, had made an Agreement amongſt themſelves, about the Succeſſion to the Dominions of *Spain*, conſiſtent with the common Intereſt of *Europe*; and conſidering the Partiality which the Court of *Spain* had, at that Time, for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, there was little Room to fear, that ſuch an Agree-

ment would have been too favourable to the Houſe of *Bourbon*; if any ſuch Partition had been made, I ſay, no Objection would have remained, either as to the Right or Manner of making it, and we might have eſcaped a War. If theſe Princes had done nothing of this Kind, we might have been engaged upon the King of *Spain*'s Death, as I ſaid before, in a *defenſive War*, for preſerving the Dominions of our old Allies, and the Liberties of *Europe*, againſt the Uſurpations of our ancient Enemy. But, inſtead of waiting to be *Auxiliaries* in a *defenſive War*, we put ourſelves under a Neceſſity of being *Principals* in an *offenſive one*; and by affecting to ſecure the Balance of Power, when we had neither Call nor Right to meddle, we reduced our Affairs to this *abſurd Alternative*, that we muſt either make an offenſive War as Principals, againſt the Emperor and *Spain*, in order to conquer for *France*, which was equally impolitick and unjuſt, or againſt *France* and *Spain*, in order to conquer for the Emperor, under the greateſt Diſadvantages poſſible; which happened to be the Caſe.

The Partition Treaties forced the King of *Spain* to make a Will in favour of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; and the *Spaniards* threw themſelves into the Arms of *France*, to prevent the Diſmemberment of their Monarchy.

Thus was the Balance of Power loſt by our meddling where we had nothing to do, even before it could have been in Danger, if

2 we

we had not meddled at all. We loſt it, and the Emperor knew that we muſt reſtore it for our own Sakes, which could be done no otherwiſe than by conquering for him; and This he left us to do the beſt we could. While we fought his Battles, he lent us the *Auſtrian* Title, the Perſon of his Son, the preſent Emperor, and little elſe. We neglected every Thing, and ſacrificed every Thing, in the Proſecution of this Quarrel. But the Imperial Councils were ſo far from nelecting any Thing, or ſacrificing any Thing to it, that they ſeemed wholly taken up for ſome Years in ſettling the Affairs of *Hungary* to their Satisfaction; and they ſacrificed to an idle Refinement in Politicks the greateſt Opportunity, which we ever had, or muſt ever hope to have; I mean that of *deſtroying the naval Force of France*, by the taking of *Toulon*. This they deliberately and almoſt avowedly hindered.

If ever People were called upon to think of their *own immediate* Intereſts, we were ſo at this Time. Whether we could *then* have put an End to the expenſive War, we were engaged in for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in a Manner conſiſtent with the publick Intereſt of *Europe*, I am not able to determine. Certain it is in Fact, that far from entertaining any ſuch Thoughts, we redoubled our Spirit, and our Efforts in the Proſecution of the War. As we acquired new Allies, we enlarged our Engagements; and as we obtained new Victories,

tories, we extended our Views. The grand Alliance formed by King *William*, for reſtoring a Balance of Power in *Europe*, propoſed no other Objects than *ſufficient Barriers*, *Security* to *Trade*, and *reaſonable Satisfaction* to the Houſe of *Auſtria**. Theſe were thought, by that great Prince, all the Points neceſſary to be contended for. But, inſtead of confining ourſelves to ſo narrow a Plan, we judged that the Balance of Power could not be effectually reſtored, unleſs we wreſted the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy from the Houſe of *Bourbon*, to give it to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. For this Prize we fought, and fought with as little Regard to all other Intereſts, as if we had defended our own Altars, and our own Houſes.

Muſt we not acknowledge upon this Occaſion, Sir, the Shortneſs of human Foreſight? The very Meaſure, which we purſued at ſo great Expence of Blood and Treaſure, (becauſe nothing leſs could ſecure the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and even the Trade of this Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, againſt the Invaſions of *France* and the Pretender) that very Meaſure would, it ſeems, have put all theſe into the utmoſt Peril.

If we had ſucceeded in our Attempts to ſet the Crown of *Spain* on the Head of the preſent Emperor, and his Brother the Emperor *Joſeph* had lived; would our Danger from

* *Vide* G. Al. Art. 8.

the

the Union of these two Brothers not have been at least as great, as that, which is apprehended from the Union of the present Emperor, and of the present King of *Spain*, Rivals almost from their Cradles, and by a long Course of Opposition, such inveterate Enemies, that they *could hardly be kept*, as the Enquirer assures us, *within the Bounds of common Decency towards one another, by all the Address of two powerful Mediators in a publick Treaty?* Might not the same *Address*, as *threw* these Enemies *into one another's Arms*, (for it will appear they did not *run* thither so unaccountably) and united them in *Designs destructive to the Commerce and Rights of other Nations*, have succeeded equally well between the two Brothers, especially since in this Case there would have been but Half the Work to do? The Union would have been formed to our Hands, and our *Address* could only have been shewn, in giving such proper Provocations, as might have inspired the Designs.

Would *Charles* have been less favourable to the Trade of his Brother's Subjects, at any Place in the *Austrian* Dominions, than *Philip* shews himself to the Trade of the Subjects of *Charles?* Would *Joseph* not have concurred to assist his Brother to regain *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*; at least, as zealously, as we can suppose, that *Charles* concurs to assist *Philip*, either by good Offices, or, if you please to have it so, by Force of Arms?

Would

Would not a League between the two Brothers have been as much a *Popiſh* League, as that, which we are ſo much alarmed at, between the ſurviving Brother, and the preſent King of *Spain?* Would not the firſt have made Uſe of the Pretender, as the latter is ſaid to do, and as every Prince or State, with whom we happen to be at Variance, may be provoked to do? In ſhort, I may ſafely challenge the Author of the *Enquiry*, as great a Caſuiſt as he is, to ſhew any Difference between the two Caſes, which I have compared together, except this, that we might have been expoſed to greater Dangers from that Settlement of *Europe*, which we fought to bring about, than we are, or can probably be expoſed to, from that, which we were ſo ſollicitous to prevent. But the Caſe is ſtill ſtronger than I have put it. For even after the Death of the Emperor *Joſeph*, his preſent Imperial Majeſty continued his Claim to the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy; and *You*, and *I*, and *many* of us, continued to ſupport his Claim, and oppoſed, with all our Force, the Negotiations of Peace, which were begun upon a different Principle. Happily we failed of Succeſs. The many, who remonſtrated *that we were haſtening apace, to make him a Power too great, and too formidable; and that we ſhould find in him, at laſt, the Enemy we then dreaded only in another*, prevailed. Had they not, in what a Condition ſhould we have been at this Time? Would the

the Emperor have been more grateful, or leſs powerful, with the Crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*, added to ſo many others? If the Union between him and the King of *Spain* is ſo formidable to us, how much more Reaſon ſhould we have had, to apprehend the Conſequences to our *Trade, and in the End* to our Liberties, and our Religion, themſelves; if theſe divided Powers had been united in the ſame *ungrateful* Perſon, as it is the Mode at preſent to call the Emperor?

If Don *Carlos* ſhould marry the eldeſt Arch-Ducheſs, if the Emperor ſhould die without Iſſue *Male*, if the King of *France* ſhould die without Iſſue *Male*, if the Prince of *Aſturias* ſhould die without Iſſue *Male*, and the Princes of the Blood in *France* and *Spain* ſhould not ſupport the Validity of the Renunciations, all which is within the Bounds of Poſſibility; "*Don* Carlos *may be at once* "*Emperor, King of* France, *and King of* "Spain; *and have the vaſt Strength and* "*Riches of all theſe Powers united and cen-* "*tered in him.*" This terrible Object ſtares our ſpeculative *Enquirer* in the Face, and diſturbs his Head. It diſturbs very probably thoſe excellent Heads, who ſet him a ſcribbling, who can ſee ſo far into Futurity at preſent; and who, not very long ago, were unable to diſcern the neareſt and moſt probable Events. Let us conſider now, what Conſequence of this Kind might have happened; if, for ſecuring a Balance of Power in *Europe*, the

the present Emperor had been likewise King of *Spain*. If then the King of *France*, instead of marrying the Daughter of *Stanislaus*, had married the eldest Daughter of the Emperor, which surely had been within the Bounds of Possibility; there would remain but one Chance at this Time, *viz.* The Emperor having a Son, to save us from the Combination of such a Power, as would in Reality form what we commonly, though improperly, call *Universal Monarchy*; since there would be nothing else, which could hinder *Lewis* XV. from being King of *France*, of *Spain*, and of the *West Indies*, Master of all the *Austrian* Dominions; and, by Consequence, Emperor. The Truth I would inculcate by what I have said is this, that as the *Partition Treaty* threw too much Weight into the Scale of *Bourbon*, to the Destruction of the Balance of Power in *Europe*; so the necessary Consequence of the War we made to restore this Balance must have been, if we had succeeded according to our Desires, to destroy it again, by throwing too much Weight into the Scale of *Austria*. This has been proved by the Event, and the *Enquirer* demonstrates it, or he demonstrates nothing.

As far, therefore, as we have brought this Deduction, that is, to the End of the last War; it is manifest that the Notion of preserving a Balance of Power in *Europe* has, for the Reasons touched upon above, and which every Man will extend in his own Thoughts,

proved to us like an *Ignis fatuus*; in the Purſuit of which we have been led from Difficulty to Difficulty, and from Danger to Danger.

If we enquire whether the Treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden* did afford us an Opportunity of correcting our Errors, and of profiting by our Experience, it will be found that they did; ſince all the Points, which had been in Conteſt were then ſettled, and this Settlement acquieſced in by all the Parties to the War, except the Emperor, who kept up ſtill his Claim againſt *Philip* V.

But the keeping up this Claim could not have endangered the Public Tranquility. He was unable to attack *Spain* for want of a maritime Force, or even *Sicily*, which was covered beſides by the Guaranty of the Neutrality of *Italy*; and this Neutrality ſerved likewiſe to hinder *Spain* from attacking him. There might have been a War of the Pen, and there could have been no other between them.

At the worſt, if the King of *Spain* had invaded any Part of *Italy*, the Guarantees of the Neutrality might eaſily have prevented ſuch an Attempt; and in ſo doing they would have obſerved the Treaties, and kept the Peace, far from breaking either one or the other.

In ſuch a State of foreign Affairs, we had certainly an Opportunity of looking carefully after our own. The King of *Spain* had no

Pretence

Pretence to aſk for any Alteration in the Settlement ſo lately eſtabliſhed with his own Conſent; and the Emperor could not have complained of his Majeſty for obſerving Treaties, which he would not have made, but which he found made; nor for refuſing to enter into a new War on this Account.

Whether we improved this Opportunity, or not, what our preſent Condition is, and by what Steps we have been reduced to it, I leave to the Enquiry of ſome Perſon more capable than myſelf. Let it ſuffice, that I have endeavoured to remove ſome Deluſions, which have affected even Men of the beſt Underſtandings, and the beſt Intentions; and to prepare the Minds of my Countrymen to conſider, at this critical Point of Time, what our national Intereſt really is, without being biaſſed in their Judgments, by what they may have thought of it on former Occaſions.

I am,

Moſt Noble Sir,

Your Honour's

moſt devoted Servant,

February 3, 1726-7.

The Occasional Writer.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST after I had ſent theſe Sheets to the Preſs, a Paper, intitled, *A Letter to the Occaſional Writer*, was brought to me. I have read this ſtiff pedantick Piece, with more Attention than it deſerves, though I read it curſorily; and, notwithſtanding the Pains which the Author takes to paſs for you, I am ready to acquit you of the Scandal. You would certainly have writ better, and your Pen at leaſt would not have appeared ſo near-a-kin to that of the *Craftſman Extraordinary*.

Who this Author ſuppoſes the *Occaſional Writer* to be, I cannot gueſs. Such a Wretch as he deſcribes is, I believe, to be found no where, nor even ſuch an Image of Guilt and Miſery any where, except in the *Horrors of his own Mind*. I ſhall therefore, with a *decent Contempt* for this ſcurrilous Scribbler, and without any Concern about his *imaginary* Correſpondent, continue theſe inoffenſive Letters, in great Tranquility and Sedateneſs, as often as Occaſion invites me, or as I find myſelf in the Humour.

The Occasional Writer.

NUMBER III.

To the Same.

——*Quis te, Juvenum confidentiſſime, noſtras*
Juſſit adire Domos? Quidve hinc petis? inquit. At ille,
Scis Proteu, ſcis ipſe; neque eſt te fallere cuiquam.
VIRG.

Moſt Noble SIR,

WHEN I writ the Poſtſcript to my laſt Letter, I believed firmly that the Anſwer to the *Occaſional Writer* was neither writ by you, nor publiſhed by your Order. Many Conſiderations determined me to this Opinion. For Inſtance; I could not think, that in order to vent yourſelf in a Fit of Railing, you would draw a Picture out of your own Imagination, which cannot paſs for that of the Perſon, who writ to you, even in the low and vile Character he aſſumed, and which you will hardly venture to own that you meant to be the Reſemblance of any Man in *Britain*. I could not perſuade myſelf that you would give Occaſion, as I apprehend very much that you may have done, to the drawing of another Picture

Picture *after the Life*, which no one will miſtake, and which you will not be curious to place in your Collection of Paintings. I have with the reſt of Mankind a great Regard for ſome of your Friends; but I have, with the reſt of Mankind likewiſe, a great Regard for your particular Enemies, among whom it ſeemed impoſſible to me that you, who know them ſo well, ſhould preſume to find either Slaves or Criminals, or inſolvent Debtors. I dare affirm, that there is not one of them, who ever *mortgaged his Eſtate for more than its Value*, or *reduced himſelf near the Neceſſity of living by Contribution*.

Theſe are ſome of the Motives, which induced me to acquit you of the Scandal, as I then thought it, of writing this Paper. But upon better Information, and farther Reflection, I have changed my Opinion; and I ſee nothing inconſiſtent with my Reſpect for you, in believing that you did write it.

As great an Advantage as it is in all the Affairs of Life for a Man to keep his Temper, it is often excuſable, and perhaps ſometimes even praiſe-worthy, to loſe it. When a Miniſter is contradicted in Matters relating to his Adminiſtration, and when buſy People ſhall preſume to aſk his Reaſons, inſtead of ſubmitting to his Authority, can we wonder if his Paſſion tranſports him into Rhodomontades, and if he behaves himſelf a little wildly? But when the Virtue of a Miniſter like you, whoſe whole Life has been one bright

Example of public and private Virtue, ſhall be ſuſpected, ſo far as to be tempted to Paſſion; who can refuſe him even Applauſe, if his generous Soul, tranſported with a juſt Indignation, breathes forth ſuch Expreſſions, as might, upon a leſs Occaſion, paſs for indecent Ribaldry?

This was your Caſe, moſt noble Sir, in the Trial, which I preſumed lately to make, with too much Boldneſs perhaps, but ſurely with a very good Deſign. A Man writes to you from his Garret, deſcribes himſelf as a proſtitute Scribbler, and offers you the Service of his Pen: this, and this alone appears to you; upon which a noble Indignation ſeizes you, and you ſtrike boldly, though you ſtrike in the Dark. There is really ſomewhat fine in this Sally of Reſentment, and it confirms, in the higheſt Degree, the Sentiments I have long entertained of your Integrity, of your Ability, and of a certain Grace, which accompanies and gives a Luſtre to every Part of your Conduct.

The Share I have had in this Adventure, affords me great Satisfaction. Your Anger fell on a feigned Character, and hurts me not; but the Honour of having drawn an Anſwer from a *firſt Miniſter*, and an Anſwer *in print*, accrues to me, and is ſuch a one, as the greateſt of our weekly Authors could never boaſt.

Give me Leave therefore to be tranſported in my Turn, but to be tranſported with Joy,

and to inſert an Abſtract of your Anſwer in this Paper, as *Balzac* placed at the Head of his Works a Letter from the Cardinal *de Richlieu.* I conſult my own Honour, it muſt be confeſſed, in doing this; but I conſider ſtill more that juſt Applauſe and Admiration, which I, with the reſt of the World, am obliged on this Occaſion to give you.

To thoſe Parts of the *Occaſional Writer's* Letter, which ſhew that you are at this Juncture in want of ſuch Services, as the Scoundrel he perſonated might be fit to do, you make no Reply. The Want you ſeem to admit, but the Offer of Service you reject; let the Public hear in what Manner.

Abſtract of the M———r's ANSWER *to the* Occaſional Writer.

Pag. 1. " THO' you have not ſigned your " Name, I know you. Becauſe, " a Man, who is without all Principles of " Honeſty, who in no one Thing can be re- " lyed upon, a Betrayer of his Friend, a " Traitor to his Prince, an Enemy to his " Country, a perjured, ungrateful, unfaithful " Raſcal, muſt be *You*; one, who is a Com- " poſition of all theſe, can be only *You.*

Pag. 2. " You are an infamous Fellow, " who make a Reputation of doing Miſ- " chief; and *Heroſtratus* and *Nero* were " not greater Villains than *You.*

 " You

" You are of ſo profligate a Character, that " in your Proſperity no Body envyed you, " and in your Diſgrace no Body pities you.

" You were in the Intereſt of *France*, " and of the *Pope*, as hath appeared by " your Writings, and you went out of the " Way to ſave yourſelf from the Gallows.

Pag. 3. " You are a Fellow, who have " no Conſcience at all, or a damnable com- " plying one; and if you would lend it to " me, *it would be of no uſe to me*.

" You have *no Abilities*; you are an *eman-* " *cipated Slave*, a *proſcribed Criminal*, and " an *inſolvent Debtor*; and I am not in ſuch " a deſperate forlorn Condition, to employ " a Fellow, who hath *no Talents*.

Pag. 4. " You have been a Traitor, and " ſhould be uſed like one. And I love my " Maſter ſo well, that I will never adviſe " him to uſe you, *leſt you ſhould joſtle me out* " *of my Employment*.

" The Majority are of my Opinion. One " Side rails at you, the other diſlikes you; " and that *Palinurus* would deſerve to be " drowned indeed, who let you have the " Rudder, if he could help it.

Pag. 5. " I do not value what *You* or *your* " *Company* ſay of me; neither am I to be " frighted with a *Parliamentary Scrutiny*. " You rail at me, becauſe you envy me; " and I deſpiſe all that a Man in the Impo- " tence of Diſgrace can do againſt me, who

" could

" could never terrify me in the Zenith of
" his Power."

Then follow these admirable Arguments.

Pag. 6, 7, 8. " I. You may talk what you " will of *France*, *Spain*, and the Emperor, " Power is fluctuating, and perhaps, I know " who is *Britain*'s Enemy as well as another. " II. Though we did lend the Emperor a " helping Hand, we are not to let him do " what he pleases; and when we set him " up it was good Politicks, and now it is " equally good to take him down. III. *I* " *don't question* but we shall humble him. " IV. I must tell you plainly, You and I, as " to *foreign* Affairs, *differ* widely *in Opinion*. " V. When our Neighbours grow saucy and " encroaching, it is high Time to look about " us, and not to be taken *napping*. VI. I " know you are like the Emperor, because " he is like yourself in Ingratitude; and you " hate our Friend *France*, because you were " well received there.

" If any Body says any Thing of me, " pray, tell them ALL THESE THINGS. " But for all that, I will not *give you an* " *Employment*.

" I know you to be so hot-headed, that " when you have read this, you will vent " all your Malice against me. But I do " not value it; for I would rather have you " my Enemy than my Friend.

" Change your Names, and be as abuſive
" and ſcurrilous as you pleaſe, I ſhall find
" you out. I am *Ariſtæus*; you are *Proteus*.
" You may change to a Flame, a Lyon, a
" Bull, or a Bear, I ſhall know you, baffle
" you, conquer you, and contemn you. All
" your Oppoſition will redound to my Ho-
" nour and Glory. And ſo, Sir, I ſcorn your
" proffered Services. Sir,

" *Your moſt*, &c."

How great! how free! how bold! how generous! Well may thoſe, who have the Honour of a near Approach to you, extol the noble Openneſs of your Nature, which diſplays itſelf in this uncommon Manner; and think that Temper in a Stateſman truly admirable, which loſes itſelf ſo glorioufly. Did ever Miniſter ſpeak ſo plainly, or lay himſelf ſo open to any Man, and eſpecially to ſuch a Man, as you ſuppoſe yourſelf writing to at that Time? Far from diſcovering Hatred and Contempt of ſuch Wretches, Perſons in your Situation have generally encouraged, and even feared them. Nay, they have ſometimes aſpired to be themſelves of that Claſs; and *Seneca*'s *Apocolocynthoſis* upon *Claudius*, is not the ſole Inſtance of Miniſters, who have dipped their Pens in Satyr, to rail at the Memory of a dead Prince.

But now, after this honourable Declaration, which you have made, after this great Example, which you have given, let every mercenary

cenary Scribbler, every Tool of ſecret Service, tremble and deſpair. Long may you live, moſt noble Sir, the juſt Model of a Miniſter, who ſcorns the Aſſiſtance of Flattery, Falſhood, Artifice, or Corruption.

I have devoted myſelf to your Service, and ſhall certainly attend you through every Stage of your Fortune; as long as we both draw vital Air, you ſhall feel the Effects of my Zeal in your Cauſe, and I promiſe you very ſolemnly, that from henceforward I will live for no other Purpoſe; ſo that I am perſuaded, you will hear with Pleaſure the *three Engagements*, which I think it proper to take with the Public and with you.

The firſt is, that my Pen ſhall conſtantly preſerve Decency and good Manners; and ſhall never be ſtained with any Abuſe of particular Perſons. I will chaſtiſe Vice, I will expoſe Folly, and I will combat Error, wherever I find them. But I will never touch upon any unalterable Defects in Figure, in Family, in Birth, in any kind whatſoever; much leſs will I allow myſelf to hint at any particular Scandal, or even to mention any real Misfortune, which may equally befal the beſt and the worſt of Men; unleſs I am forced by my Subject to it, and unleſs I can ſoften the Evil by the very Manner of recalling it to Memory. To attack a Vice, a Folly or an Error, is Correction. To attack the Perſon, is Defamation. He, who writes an Invective, does a ſilly Thing, becauſe he loſes

his

his End; and the wiſeſt of Men has ſaid, *He that uttereth Slander is a Fool.* Even Truth loſes its Force in an Invective, as it does in a Panegyrick: in one, it is thrown into the Lump with Malice, in the other, with Flattery; and he, who is guilty of the firſt, that is, he who writes againſt the Man, not againſt his Crimes, his Follies, or his Errors, ſeldom proves any thing more than his own Envy, and the other's Superiority. To conclude this Head, he, who writes an Invective, does a baſe and wicked Thing; becauſe his Deſign is to diſturb the Quiet, and deſtroy the Peace of another Man, but not to reform him, or to ſerve the Publick. The Pen of ſuch a Writer, like one of thoſe Scourges, of which the profound *Meibomius* has writ ſo learnedly, while it chaſtiſes the Perſon, ſerves only to provoke the Vice.

The *ſecond Obligation,* which I lay myſelf under, and which equally becomes a Man, who writes in the Cauſe of Truth, is that of entire *Diſintereſtedneſs.*

I know the Generoſity of your Nature, I know what Places and Penſions have been the Rewards of ſome very mean Performances in Verſe and Proſe; and that R. R. State-Writer, of whom we are obliged to aſk Bleſſing, is moſt certainly not at the Head of our Profeſſion These Examples, and a due Conſideration of the Importance of my Services, teach me ſufficiently what Expectations I might entertain, without any Riſque

of a Diſappointment. But I have neither Ambition of this Kind, nor Avarice. My Fortune is above wanting the Neceſſaries, and my Philoſophy above wanting the Superfluities of Life. I therefore diſcharge you from all Obligation of rewarding my Services; and I wiſh for the Sake of your Eaſe, your Honour, and your Safety, my Example was likely to be followed.

When we behold a great Man among a Croud of diſintereſted Friends, we know that they follow his Virtues, and his Merit; when we hear an Orator bring over the Majority of an unprejudiced Audience to his Opinion, we muſt impute it to the Force of his Eloquence. But ſurely it is as rare for a Miniſter to have diſintereſted Friends, as an unprejudiced Audience, ſo that a Number of Followers can be no Proof of his perſonal Virtues, or a Majority of his Eloquence.

The Antients placed great Happineſs in their *inemptæ dapes*; I would rather you ſhould place yours in the *inempti amici*. But alas! Sir, as amiable as you are, this Happineſs will hardly fall to your Lot, in our degenerate Age; and I know not whether to maintain your Power, you may not be forced to tarniſh the Luſtre of your glorious Adminiſtration. The *King* has indeed the Hearts of the People; his Service will always be ſupported by a national Concurrence, becauſe his Views are always directed to the national Good. This Part is eaſy and ſecure, but when

once Men come to distinguish between the King's Service and yours, there will arise another Part not so easy nor secure. You have blended them pretty artfully together hitherto, but I doubt the Discrimination is at Hand. When that comes, you will be reduced to a melancholy Alternative; which I beg you to think of, and to prepare for. To quit your Power and your Pretensions, and to quit them before you have established in your Room that dear *Brother* of yours, who does you so much Service at home, by tiring the ——, and the Nation so much Honour abroad by diverting the C— of *F*——, would indeed be hard. But, on the other Hand, be pleased to consider that this Nation has gone very far into Corruption already, that there is a Point of Corruption, to which no Nation can arrive and recover their Liberties, if they are lost; or even preserve them, if they are not lost, according to *Machiavel's* Observation; and that whoever is the Instrument of plunging his Country irretrievably into this Abyss, I use a Word you seem fond of, will fall into a terrible Abyss himself, and have no Superiority any where, but where the *Briber* stands before the *Bribed*, as the *Devil* stands before the *Sinner*.

You see, Sir, how my Zeal transports me, and carries me upon the least Hint, which may be improved to your Honour or Service, even out of my Subject. I return to it, and the

the *third Engagement*, which I take is to obſerve a ſtrict Impartiality.

To do otherwiſe, would be to act contrary to my Nature, and to the Dictates of my Reaſon. I have a natural Abhorrence of Injuſtice, and I conſidered, when I firſt drew my Pen, in how particular a Manner it behoves us political Writers to be on our Guard, againſt falling into any Partiality. The Judge is circumſcribed by Forms, to the Obſervance of which he is bound; he has the Law open before him; the Parties, on whom he ſits in Judgment, are generally indifferent to him, and far from having any of his Paſſions awakened, the whole Man is ſometimes prone to Sleep. When there is Room to ſuſpect a Judge of Partiality in a particular Caſe, it is agreeable to the Practice of ſome Countries that he ſhould decline preſiding at the Trial, or be obliged to withdraw at the Requiſition of the Party. With all theſe, and many other Precautions, which wiſe Conſtitutions have eſtabliſhed, it is neither eaſy nor ſafe for the venerable Sages of the Law to exerciſe Partiality. But we political Writers are not under the ſame Reſtraints, and are expoſed to ſtrong Temptations. No Forms are preſcribed to regulate our Proceedings; no particular Laws, adapted to the particular Caſes, which may occur, lie open before us. The general Law of Reaſon is the only Rule we have to follow; the Application of this Rule requires the moſt nice Exactneſs, and we are obliged

obliged to make this Application often, in pronouncing Judgment on Men and Things, when we are the moſt warmly engaged in thoſe civil Conteſts, which the Duty of our Profeſſion expoſes us to, and even when our Tempers are ruffled by Oppoſition. From which Conſideration, the Difficulty of preſerving a ſtrict *Impartiality* may evidently appear; give me Leave, however, to illuſtrate this Matter a little farther.

In the *Athenian* Commonwealth, the Citizen, who took no Side, was deemed indifferent to the public Good, and was branded for his infamous Neutrality. Now, if ſuch an Obligation as this lay upon every private Citizen, in that *democratical* Government, it is certain, that we public Perſons, at leaſt, ought to think ourſelves under the ſame Obligation, even in this limited Monarchy of ours. Indifference muſt be a Crime in us, to be ranked but one Degree below Treachery; for deſerting the Commonwealth is next to betraying it. Our Duty muſt oblige us in all public Diſputes to take the beſt Side, and to eſpouſe it with Warmth: this Warmth will beget Warmth; for *you know*, Sir, that the worſt Side is not always the worſt defended. Provocations will multiply daily, and we may be attacked in the moſt ſenſible Parts. You, Sir, yourſelf, may for aught I know be inſulted, and your ſpotleſs Character may be defiled by ſome ſaucy Scribbler; in this licentious Age, nothing is held ſacred; under

the ſpecious Pretence of Free-thinking, the Providence, and the very Being of God, have been openly called in Queſtion, and Reflections on your Adminiſtration may poſſibly ſteal into the World.

Suppoſe, for a Moment, that any Thing ſo monſtrous as this ſhould happen, that you ſhould be directly inveighed againſt, or which perhaps is more poignant ironically commended, and then conſider how difficult it would be for a profeſſed Admirer of you, heated in the Conteſt, to keep his Temper, and to preſerve his Impartiality; you muſt agree with me, the Taſk would be extremely difficult.

But I am ſure you will agree likewiſe, that as difficult as it would be, a conſcientious Man ought to impoſe it upon himſelf.

The ill Effects of Partiality in us political Writers, when it carries us to give unjuſt and falſe Repreſentations of Men and Things, will not be thought of little Moment by you, who labour for Fame, and expect a great Part of your Reward from Poſterity, as Poſterity is to receive a great Part of the Advantages, which your *wiſe* and *virtuous* Adminiſtration procures, in *reviving*, *ſupporting*, and *extending Credit*, in *opening ſo comfortable a Proſpect of the Payment of our Debts*, in *ſtrengthening us abroad by ſo many beneficial Alliances*, and *above all in amending our Morals, by the total Diſcouragement of every kind of Artifice* and *Corruption*.

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The Civil Magiſtrate may give away a Man's Eſtate, or take away his Life; but we can do, and often have done more; we ſet the general Characters and particular Actions of Men in what Light we pleaſe, and deliver them down, ſometimes very unjuſtly, under the moſt amiable, or the moſt hateful Colours to future Ages; for the raſh Sentence we pronounce is eagerly received, and as eagerly tranſmitted by thoſe, who are animated with the ſame Paſſion.

In this Manner are unjuſt, and even falſe Repreſentations eſtabliſhed. They become the general Opinion of Mankind, and then, although our Works ſhould grow out of Date as faſt as a Gazette, which it muſt be confeſſed happens very frequently; yet ſtill the Miſchief is done, the Hiſtorian perpetuates the Slander, which the Politician broached, and triumphs in the cotemporary Authority, upon which he writes to ſerve the preſent Turn, or to ſatisfy Reſentment of Party; ſuch Perſons as have no other Crime but that of differing in Opinion from us, and ſuch Events as have no other Demerit, but our Diſlike of the Perſons, who bring them about, are loaded with Infamy. Poſterity is impoſed upon as well as the preſent Age, and the Children continue the Fathers Vengeance, without having the Fathers Provocation.

This faint Sketch of ſome Conſequences that follow the Partiality of political Writers, and of the Danger wherein we all ſtand of

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being tranſported by our own Paſſions, or hurried by thoſe of other People, ſo far to be anſwerable for ſuch Conſequences, may ſuffice to ſhew how much Reaſon there is for a Man, who undertakes the Career I am entering upon, to be watchful over himſelf, and to lay himſelf under as ſtrong a Reſtraint as I do by this ſolemn Engagement.

Indeed, as the World goes, it is only by running into Extremes that a State-Writer can effectually pleaſe his Party, or ſerve himſelf; the Eye of the Party ſees nothing but quite white, or quite black, obſerves no Degrees between them, and can diſtinguiſh no middle Colour that partakes of both. The greateſt Genius in writing, may be expoſed to ſhare the Fate of the greateſt *Genie* in Painting. *Annibal Carache*, who followed Nature and Truth with the utmoſt Exactneſs, found his nobleſt Works diſcountenanced and neglected. He thereupon adviſed *Guido* and *Caravagio*, his two favourite Scholars, to take quite another Manner, to trace nothing faithfully, but to outrage all they repreſented, the one by painting in the darkeſt, and the other in the lighteſt Manner. By theſe Means both of them were ſure of Admirers, and both of them grew rich.

To imitate theſe Painters, is all our Party-Writers aim at; whether their Manner be black or white, Satyr or Panegyrick, no Matter. Their Principle is to lay their Colours on thick, and to be equally in an Ex-

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treme. But I hope, for my own Part, to prove that I am not of this Number. On the contrary, I will endeavour to excel in a much more difficult Way, in Softenings and middle Teints; and yet by these to form a Manner so strong, as shall be sufficient for my own Reputation, and for your Service. To you, who have so fine a Taste in Painting, this Attempt will, I flatter myself, be agreeable, and will secure the Continuance of your Favour to,

Most Noble Sir,

Your Honour's

most devoted Servant,

February 13, 1726-7.

The Occasional Writer.

The first VISION *of* CAMILICK.

In Hoc Signo *vinces.*

HAVING as yet given the Reader little besides grave Discourses on public Matters, and foreseeing that, during the Session of Parliament, I shall be obliged to continue

tinue daily in the ſame Track, I am willing to take this one Opportunity of preſenting him with ſomething, which has no Relation at all to public Affairs, but is of a Nature purely amuſing, and entirely void of Reflection upon any Perſon whatſoever.

My Friend *Alvarez* (a Man not unknown to many here, by his frequent Journies to *England*) did ſome Time ſince make me a Preſent of a *Perſian* Manuſcript, which he met with while he followed the Fortunes of *Meriweis*. An exact Tranſlation of the firſt Chapter has been made, at my Requeſt, by the learned Mr. *Solomon Negri*, and is as follows.

CAMILICK'S VISION.

IN the Name of God, ever merciful, and of *Haly* his Prophet. I ſlept in the Plains of *Bagdad*, and I dreamed a Dream. I lifted my Eyes, and I ſaw a vaſt Field, pitched with the Tents of the Mighty, and the ſtrong ones of the Earth in Array of Battle. I obſerved the Arms and Enſigns of either Hoſt. In the Banners of the one were pictured a Crown and Sceptre; and upon the Shields of the Soldiers were engraven Scourges, Chains, iron Maces, Axes, and all kinds of Inſtruments of Violence. The Standards of the other bore the Crown and Sceptre alſo; but the Devices on the Shields were the Balance, the Olive Wreath, the Plough-

Share, and other emblematical Figures of Juſtice, Peace, Law, and Liberty. Between theſe two Armies, I ſaw a King come forth, and ſign a large *Roll of Parchment*; at which loud Shouts of Acclamation were heard from every Quarter. The *Roll* itſelf flew up into the Air, and appeared over their Heads, encompaſſed with Rays of Glory. I obſerved that where-ever the ſecond Army moved, this glorious Apparition attended them; or rather the Army ſeemed only to move, as That guided or directed. Soon after I ſaw both theſe Hoſts engaged, and the whole Face of the Land overſpread with Blood. I ſaw the King, who had ſigned and broken that *ſacred Charter*, drink out of a golden Cup, fall into Convulſions, gaſp and die.

I then ſaw another King take his Place; who, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, engaged to make the Words contained in the *Roll* the Guide of his Actions; but notwithſtanding This, I ſaw both Armies again encounter. I ſaw the King a Priſoner. I ſaw his Son relieve him, and I ſaw the Chiefs of the other Army put to Death. Yet that victorious Son himſelf bowed his Head to the *Parchment*; which now appeared with fuller Luſtre than before. Several other Battles enſued, with vaſt Slaughter on both Sides; during which the *celeſtial Volume* was ſometimes clouded over; but ſtill again exerted its Rays, and after every Cloud appeared the brighter. I obſerved thoſe Heroes, who

fought

ſought beneath it, though ever ſo unfortunate, not once to abate their Courage, while they had the leaſt Glimpſe of that heavenly Apparition in their View; and even Thoſe, whom I ſaw overthrown, pierced with ghaſtly Wounds, and panting in Death, reſigned their Lives in Smiles, and with Eyes caſt up to that glorious Object. At laſt the long Contention ceaſed. I beheld both Armies unite and move together under the ſame Influence. I ſaw one King twelve Times bow down before the bright Phænomenon; which from thence-forward ſpread a Light over the whole Land; and, deſcending nearer to the Earth, the Beams of it grew ſo warm as it approached, that the Hearts of the Inhabitants leaped for Joy, The Face of War was no more. The ſame Fields, which had ſo long been the Scene of Death and Deſolation, were now covered with golden Harveſts. The Hills were cloathed with Sheep. The Woods ſung with Gladneſs. Plenty laughed in the Vallies. Induſtry, Commerce, and Liberty danced hand in hand through the Cities.

While I was delighting myſelf with this amiable Proſpect, the Scene entirely changed. The Fields and Armies vaniſhed; and I ſaw a large and magnificent Hall, reſembling the great *Divan* or Council of the Nation. At the upper End of it, under a Canopy, I beheld the *ſacred Covenant*, ſhining as the Sun. The Nobles of the Land were there aſſembled.

bled. They proſtrated themſelves before it, and they ſung an Hymn. *Let the Heart of the King be glad; for his People are happy! May the Light of the Covenant be a Lanthorn to the Feet of the Judges; for by This ſhall they ſeparate Truth from Falſhood. O Innocence, rejoice! for by this Light ſhalt thou walk in Safety; nor ſhall the Oppreſſor take hold on thee. O Juſtice, be exceeding glad! for by this Light all thy Judgments ſhall be decreed with Wiſdom; nor ſhall any Man ſay thou haſt erred. Let the Hearts of all the People be glad! for This have their Grandfathers died; in This have their Fathers rejoiced; and in This may their Poſterity rejoice ever more!*

Then all the Rulers took a ſolemn Oath to preſerve it inviolate and unchanged, and to ſacrifice their Lives and their Fortunes, rather than ſuffer themſelves or their Children to be deprived of ſo invaluable a Bleſſing.

After this, I ſaw another and larger Aſſembly come forward into the Hall, and join the firſt. Theſe paid the ſame Adorations to the *Covenant*; took the ſame Oath; they ſung the ſame Hymn; and added a ſolemn Form of Imprecation to this Effect. *Let the Words of the* Roll *be for ever in our Eyes, and graven on our Hearts; and accurſed be He who layeth Hands on the ſame. Accurſed be He, who ſhall remove this Writing from the People; or who ſhalt hide the Law thereof from the King. Let that Man be cut off from*

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the Earth. Let his Riches be ſcattered as the Duſt. Let his Wife be the Wife of the People. Let not his firſt-born be ranked among the Nobles. Let his Palaces be deſtroyed. Let his Gardens be as a Deſart, having no Water. Let his Horſes and his Horſemen be overthrown; and let his Dogs devour their Carcaſes!——In the midſt of theſe Execrations entered a Man, dreſſed in a plain Habit, with a Purſe of Gold in his Hand. He threw himſelf forward into the Room, in a bluff, ruffianly Manner. A Smile, or rather a Sneer, ſat on his Countenance. His Face was bronzed over with a Glare of Confidence. An arch Malignity leered in his Eye. Nothing was ſo extraordinary as the Effect of this Perſon's Appearance. They no ſooner ſaw him, but They all turned their Faces from the Canopy, and fell proſtrate before him. He trod over their Backs, without any Ceremony, and marched directly up to the Throne. He opened his Purſe of Gold; which he took out in Handfuls, and ſcattered amongſt the Aſſembly. While the greater Part were engaged in ſcrambling for theſe Pieces, he ſeized, to my inexpreſſible Surpriſe, without the leaſt Fear, upon the ſacred *Parchment* itſelf. He rumpled it rudely up, and crammed it into his Pocket. Some of the People began to murmur. He threw more Gold, and they were pacified. No ſooner was the *Parchment* taken away, but in an Inſtant I ſaw half the auguſt Aſſembly in Chains. Nothing was heard

heard through the whole Divan, but the Noiſe of Fetters, and Clank of Irons. I ſaw Pontiffs in their Eccleſiaſtical Habits, and Senators, clad in Ermine, linked together like the moſt ignominious Slaves. Terror and Amazement were impreſſed on every Countenance, except on That of ſome few, to whom the Man continued diſperſing his Gold. This he did, till his Purſe became empty. Then he dropt it; but then too, in the very ſame Moment he himſelf dropt with it to the Ground. That, and the Date of his Power, at once expired. He ſunk, and ſunk for ever. The radiant *Volume* again aroſe; again ſhone out, and re-aſſumed its Place above the Throne; the Throne, which had been darkened all this Time, was now filled with the Effulgence of the Glory, which darted from it. Every Chain dropped off in an Inſtant. Every Face regained its former Chearfulneſs. Heaven and Earth reſounded with *Liberty! Liberty!* and the HEART OF THE KING WAS GLAD WITHIN HIM.

On LUXURY.

A DISCOURSE on *Operas*, and the gayer Pleaſures of the Town, may ſeem to be too trifling for the important Scene of Affairs, in which we are at preſent engaged; but I muſt own my Fears, that they will

bear

bear too great a Part in the Succeſs of a WAR, to make the Conſideration of them foreign to it. A very little Reflection on Hiſtory will ſuggeſt this Obſervation; that every Nation has made either a great or inconſiderable Figure in the World, as it has fallen into *Luxury* or reſiſted its Temptations. What People are more diſtinguiſhed than the *Perſians* under *Cyrus*, nurſed up in Virtue, and inured to Labour and Toil? Yet (in the ſhort Space of 220 Years *) they became ſo contemptible under *Darius*, as ſcarce to give Honour to the Conqueror's Sword. The *Spartans*, and the Long-Rulers of the World, the *Romans*, ſpeak the ſame Language; and I wiſh future Hiſtory does not furniſh more *modern* Examples.

When the Mind is enervated by *Luxury*, the Body ſoon falls an eaſy Victim to it; for how is it poſſible to imagine, that a Man can be capable of the great and generous Sentiments, which Virtue inſpires, whoſe Mind is filled with the ſoft Ideas, and wanton Delicacies that Pleaſure muſt infuſe? And were it poſſible to be warmed with ſuch Notions, could it ever put them in Execution? For Toils and Fatigues would be Difficulties unſurmountable to a Soul diſſolved in Eaſe. Nor are theſe the imaginary, ſpeculative Ideas of a Cloſet; but ſuch as have been the Guide and Policies of the wiſeſt States. Of This we

* *Liv.* lib. 9. cap. 19.

have

have the moſt remarkable Inſtance in *Herodotus*. " The *Perſians*, after their great and " extended Conqueſts, deſired *Cyrus* to give " them Leave to remove out of their own " barren and mountainous Country, into one " more bleſt by the Indulgence of Providence. " But that great and wiſe Prince, revolving " the Effect in his Mind, bid them do as they " would; telling them, at the ſame Time, " that for the future they muſt not expect " to command, but obey; for Providence had " ſo ordered it, that an effeminate Race of " People were the certain Produce of a deli- " cious Country." What Regard the great Hiſtorian had to this Opinion, may be eaſily collected from his reſerving it for the Concluſion of this excellent Piece. And the Caſe is directly the ſame, whether *Pleaſures* are the natural Product of a Country, or adventitious Exoticks. They will have the ſame Effect, and cauſe the ſame extended Ruin. How often have they revenged the Captive's Cauſe, and made the Conqueror's Sword the Inſtrument of his own undoing? *Capua* deſtroyed the braveſt Army, which *Italy* ever ſaw, fluſhed with Conqueſt, and commanded by *Hannibal*. The Moment *Capua* was taken, that Moment the Walls of *Carthage* trembled. What was it that deſtroyed the Republic of *Athens*, but the Conduct of *Pericles*; * who by his pernicious Politicks firſt

* *Plut. in Pericl. & Demoſt. Orat.*

debauched the People's Minds with Shews and Feſtivals, and all the ſtudied Arts of *Eaſe* and *Luxury*; that he might, in the mean Time, ſecurely guide the Reins of Empire, and riot in Dominion? He firſt laid the Foundation of *Philip*'s Power; nor had a Man of *Macedon* ever thought of enſlaving *Greece*, if *Pericles* had not firſt made them Slaves to Pleaſure. * That great Stateſman *Tiberius* clearly ſaw what was the ſureſt Inſtrument of arbitrary Power; and therefore refuſed to have *Luxury* redreſſed, when Application was made to him in the Senate for that Purpoſe. Artful Princes have frequently introduced it with that very View. *Davila* tells us, that in an Interview and Semblance of Treaty with the King of *Navar*, *Catharine* of *Medicis* broke the Prince's Power more with the inſidious Gayeties of her Court, than many Battles before had done. But there is a ſingle Paſſage in † *Herodotus*, which will ſupply the Place of more Quotations. "When *Cyrus* had received an Account that the *Lydians* had revolted from him, he told "*Crœſus*, with a good deal of Emotion, that "he had almoſt determined to make them all "Slaves. *Crœſus* begged him to pardon them; "but, ſays he, that they may no more rebel, "or be troubleſome to you, command them "to lay aſide their Arms, to wear long Veſts "and Buſkins. Order them to ſing and play

* *Tac. An. lib.* 2. *cap.* 33. † *Herod. lib.* 1. *cap.* 155.

" on the Harp; to drink and debauch; and " you will ſoon ſee their Spirits broken, and " themſelves changed from Men into Wo- " men; ſo that they will no more rebel, or " be uneaſy to you for the future." And the Event anſwered the Advice. They are puny Politicians, who attack a People's Liberty directly. The Means are dangerous, and the Succeſs precarious. Notions of Liberty are interwoven with our very Being; and the leaſt Suſpicion of its being in danger fires the Soul with a generous Indignation. But He is the Stateſman formed for Ruin and Deſtruction, whoſe wily Head knows how to diſguiſe the fatal Hook with Baits of Pleaſure, which his artful Ambition diſpenſes with a laviſh Hand, and makes himſelf popular in undoing. Thus are the eaſy, thoughtleſs Croud made the Inſtruments of their own Slavery; nor do they know the fatal Mine is laid, till they feel the goodly Pile come tumbling on their Heads. This is the finiſhed Politician; the darling Son of *Tacitus* and *Machiavel.*

But, thanks to Providence, the ſacred Monuments of Hiſtory extend the ſhort contracted Span of human Life, and give us Years in Books. Theſe point out the glorious Landmarks for our Safety; and bid us be wiſe in Time, before *Luxury* has made too great a Progreſs among us. *Operas* and *Maſquerades*, with all the politer Elegancies of a wanton Age, are much leſs to be regarded for their Expence (great as it is) than for the

Tendency, which they have to deprave our Manners. MUSICK has ſomething ſo peculiar in it, that it exerts a willing Tyranny over the Mind, and forms the ductil Soul into whatever Shape the Melody directs. Wiſe Nations have obſerved its Influence, and have therefore kept it under proper Regulations. The * *Spartans*, vigilantly provident for the People's Safety, took from the famed *Timotheus*'s Harp the additional Strings, as giving his Muſick a Degree of Softneſs inconſiſtent with their Diſcipline. The divine *Plato* is expreſly of Opinion, that the *Muſick* of a Country cannot be changed, and the *publick Laws* remain unaffected. Heroes will be Heroes, even in their Muſick. Soft and wanton are the warbled Songs of † *Paris*; but ‡ *Achilles* ſings the godlike Deeds of Heroes. A noble, manly Muſick will place Virtue in its moſt beautiful Light, and be the moſt engaging Incentive to it. A well wrought Story, attended with its prevailing Charms, will tranſport the Soul out of itſelf; fire it with glorious Emulation; and lift the Man into an Hero; but the ſoft *Italian* Muſick relaxes and unnerves the Soul, and ſinks it into weakneſs; ſo that while we receive their *Muſick*, we at the ſame Time are adopting their *Man-*

* *Cicero, lib.* 2. *de leg. cap.* 39.
† *Hor. lib.* 1. *Od.* 15.
——— Grataque fœminis,
Imbelli cithara, carmina divides.
‡ *Hom. Iliad.* 9. 189.

ners.

ners. The Effects of it will appear in the ſtrongeſt Light from the Fate of the People of *Sybaris*; a Town in *Italy*, ſtrong and wealthy; bleſſed with all the Goods of Fortune, and ſkilled in all the Arts of Luxury and Eaſe; which they carried to ſo great an Exceſs, that their very *Horſes* were taught to move and form themſelves as the *Muſick* directed. Their conſtant Enemies, the People of *Crotona*, obſerving This, brought a great Number of Harps and Pipes into the Field, and when the Battle began, the Muſick played; upon which theſe well-bred Horſes immediately began to dance; which ſo diſconcerted the whole Army, that 300,000 were killed, and the whole People deſtroyed. Though this Story ſeems a little *fabulous*, yet it contains, at leaſt, a very good Moral.—What Effect *Italian* Muſick might have on our polite Warriors at *Gibraltar*, I cannot take upon me to ſay; but I wiſh our *Luxury* at home may not influence our Courage abroad.

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An ANSWER *to the* * London Journal *of* Saturday, December 21, 1728.

THE Family of the *Publicolæ* are ſurely very numerous. I pretend to no Acquaintance with them, and I deſire none.

* This Paper was ſuppoſed to be then under the Direction of *Benjamin* Lord Biſhop of ******

Far be it from me therefore to aſſign to any one of the *Fraternity* his particular Lucubration. I do not preſume to ſay, for Inſtance, that ſuch a Piece was writ by *BEN*, or ſuch a one by *ROBIN*; but I can plainly diſtinguiſh, in their Productions, a Difference of *Style* and *Character*. In *ſome*, I feel myſelf lulled by a regular, mild, and frequently languid Harangue; ſuch as often deſcends upon us from the *Pulpit*. In *others*, I obſerve a crude, incoherent, rough, inaccurate, but ſometimes ſprightly Declamation; well enough fitted for *popular Aſſemblies*, where the *Majority* is already convinced.

The *Publicola* of the 7th of *December* quite jaded me. I handled the *numb Fiſh*, till I fancied a Torpor ſeized my Imagination; and perhaps you may think, that I am hardly yet recovered from the Conſequences of that Accident. However, I ſhall venture to play a little with the *Publicola* of this Day; for I think I can go through an Anſwer to his Paper. He returns the Ball at leaſt, and keeps up the Game.

Before I come to This, give me Leave to premiſe a Word or two more.

As different as the *Publicolæ* are in other Things, in one they are all alike. They are ſcurrilous and impatient. They call Names, and grow angry at a Sneer. *Raleigh* laid down his Pen, rather than continue ſuch a *Bear-Garden* Conteſt. I took it up and anſwered them for once in their own Style; but

but they muſt not expect ſo much Complaiſance from me any more. The Matters we enter upon are ſerious, and by me they ſhall be treated ſeriouſly and calmly. I ſhall conſider the Dignity of the Cauſe I plead for; the Cauſe of Truth; the Cauſe of my Country; and I ſhall look down with Contempt on the *Invectives* and *Menaces*, which they may throw out; and by which they will ſuit their *Style* with great Propriety to their *Subject*.—But let us come to the Point.

The *Publicola*, of this Day, ſets out with ſtating, in an half Light, a Queſtion, which hath been much debated in the World. No Man that I know of (no reaſonable Man I am ſure) did ever find Fault that we avoided a *War*. Our national Circumſtances are ſo well known, they are ſo ſeverely felt, that *Miniſters*, who maintained *Peace*, and procured to their Country the Bleſſings of *Peace, Quiet, Improvement of Trade, Diminution of Taxes, Decreaſe of Debts*, would be almoſt the Objects of public Adoration. But the Exception taken to our Conduct hath been This; that we provoked a *War* firſt, and ſhewed a Fear of it afterwards. People recall the Paſſages of three Years paſt. They wiſh we had practiſed *greater Caution* at that Time; but then the ſame People very conſiſtently wiſh that we had exerted *greater Vigour* ſince. If the Honour and Intereſt of his late Majeſty, and of the *Britiſh* Nation,

ſay

ſay they, were ſo ſeverely wounded by the public or private Treaties of *Vienna*, that it was fit to keep no longer any Meaſures, even ſuch as have been thought of Decency, with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*; why this Fear of diſobliging them? Why this long Forbearance under all the Inſults offered to us by the *Spaniards*? If we were in a Condition, by our own Strength, and by our Alliance with *France*, to enter, with a Proſpect of Succeſs, into an immediate War; why, again, have we choſen to defer it, under ſo many Provocations to begin it? Why have we endured ſome of the worſt Conſequences of a *War*, without taking thoſe Advantages, which acting offenſively would undeniably have procured to us? But if all This was quite otherwiſe, continue the ſame *political Reaſoners*; if the Honour and Intereſt of his late Majeſty, and of the *Britiſh* Nation, were not ſo ſeverely wounded; if we were, neither by our own Strength, nor by the Alliance of *France*, in a Condition to riſque a *War*; nay more, if Things were ſo unfortunately jumbled, that perhaps *this War would have been more to our own Detriment than to that of our Enemies*, (as the *Publicolæ* have more than once inſinuated in their Papers) what could we mean, three Years ago, when Matters were carried to greater and harſher Extremities, than it is poſſible to find any Example of, amongſt civilized Nations, ſince the Quar-

rels of *Charles* the Vth, and *Francis* the Ist? If our *principal Ally would have been dangerous to our Interests, in the Operations of a War, and is indifferent to them in the Negotiations of Peace,* (for this hath been insinuated too from the same Quarter) what a *Treaty* was that, which procured us *this Ally?* What *Assurances* were those, which made us depend upon him? The Difficulty of these Dilemmas cannot, I think, be solved; and *Those,* who attempt it, deceive themselves, whilst they mean to deceive the People.

But we are told that *we went into a* War, *as far as the Reason of Things* would give us Leave. It seems then that the *Reason of Things* would neither give us Leave to protect our *Trade,* nor to make Reprisals, when our *Merchants* were plundered. If these Words are to pass for any Thing more than empty Sound, it will follow either that *Publicola* is capable of affirming the grossest Untruth in a Paper, addressed to the *People of England;* or that our Situation is worse than the least sanguine of our Friends ever thought it, or the most malicious of our Enemies ever represented it. Very bad indeed must it be if the *Reason of Things* obliged us to bear from the *Spaniards,* at this low Ebb of their maritime Power, what would not have been borne when their proud *Armada* covered the Seas; what would hardly have been borne, even in the Reign of King *James the First.*

But, God be praiſed! this is not our Caſe; and therefore *Publicola* muſt be content to lie under the Imputation, which he hath drawn on himſelf by the Boldneſs of his Aſſertions.

He is frequently guilty of this Fault; and the Words, which immediately follow thoſe I have quoted, afford a ſtrong Inſtance of it. *We did not*, ſays he, *take the Galleons and bring them Home; but we blocked them up; which as compleatly anſwered the true End and Deſign of ſending that Fleet, as the actual taking of them. The Deſign was to keep the Money out of their Hands* (the *Spaniards) and ſo diſable them to carry on the Project of the Treaty of* Vienna. Very well. This Matter is brought to a ſhort Iſſue. The Blockade of the *Galleons* is over. Our Fleet is come back from the *Weſt-Indies*. The *Galleons* are either come or coming. The *Spaniards* therefore are, according to *Publicola*, no longer diſabled from carrying on the Project of the *Vienna Treaty*. I aſk then, have they abandoned, have they renounced theſe Projects? If our Fleet blocked up the *Galleons* till this was done, he is in the Right. This anſwered the Deſign of ſending it. If they ſhould, after this, *break their Faith, and renounce the moſt ſacred Obligations*, none but *they* are to be complained of.

Publicola would have us believe, indeed, that they have renounced theſe *Projects*; that they *have granted us the main Things in Diſpute*;

Diſpute; and that the *Congreſs* is only to ſettle *other Affairs of leſs Importance:* but this I deny; and he ſhall be obliged to confeſs either that he advances, here again, a bold Untruth; or that he reckons our keeping *Gibraltar* not amongſt the *main Things in Diſpute*, but amongſt thoſe of *leſs Importance*. Let him ſhew me, if he can, in the *Preliminaries*, a *particular* and *expreſs Confirmation* of our Right to this Place, made by the *Spaniards*. I will undertake to ſhew him the *general Words*, by which the *Spaniards* will pretend in the *Congreſs*, as it is notorious they do every where and on all Occaſions, that they have ſtill a Right to demand the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar*, and that this Right is to be diſcuſſed in the *Congreſs*.

I know it hath been ſaid more than once, in a very publick Place, and in a very ſolemn Manner, that *Gibraltar* ſhould not be even mentioned at the *Congreſs*; but it would be impertinent to lay any Streſs on the Aſſurances of a *Perſon*, who hath preſumed to give ſo many groundleſs ones already; and who either hath been bantered moſt egregiouſly himſelf, or hath made no Scruple of bantering his Country.

Here then is one *main Point of our Intereſts*, to mention no more, ſtill unſettled; not becauſe the *Spaniards* have flown off from any Agreement they had come to with us about it; but becauſe it was never ſettled;

and

and yet the *Galleons* are left at Liberty to come home.

If aſſerting our Right to *Gibraltar*, and ſome other Things, which were founded ſo high by an Acquaintance of yours, Mr. *Publicola*, (the Author of the *Enquiry*) had no Share in the Ends, which were propoſed by ſending our Fleet to the *Weſt Indies*, ſuch ſtrange incomprehenſible Ends may, for aught I know, have been compleatly anſwered; but if theſe Points, ſo eſſential to *Great-Britain*, were any of the *main Things in Diſpute*; if they were any of the Ends propoſed by what is called *diſtreſſing* the *Spaniards*; then is it falſe to aſſert that theſe Ends have been *compleatly anſwered*.

When we conſider what Numbers of able and uſeful Subjects his Majeſty hath loſt in the Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*; and that we are, at leaſt, as far off from a Settlement of Intereſts with *Spain* now, as we were before that Expedition was undertaken, it is impoſſible not to feel great and unaffected Concern.

If it be aſked, what was to be done? I ſhall anſwer that, perhaps, it little becomes a private Man to determine ſuch great Queſtions; but I will proceed to ſhew that all, which *Publicola* advances againſt taking the *Galleons*, is trifling.

Firſt then, if *Blocking up the Galleons* in the *Spaniſh* Ports was of ſuch Conſequence, *Taking* them would have been a more effectual Meaſure to all the ſame Purpoſes.

 Secondly,

Secondly, if we had taken them (as it is certain that Mr. *Hoſier* could have done with Eaſe, and with all the Treaſure on Board, immediately on his firſt Arrival) we ſhould have had a Chance the more for taking the *Flota* too; which ſtole away to *Europe*, whilſt our Squadron lay rotting before *Portobello*.

Thirdly, if we had taken this Treaſure, we ſhould have had in our Hands a ſufficient Security for indemnifying our *Merchants*; who have been the *only Sufferers*, by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*; whilſt the *French* and *Dutch* have failed ſecurely; and to *one Body* of whom (I mean the *South-Sea Company*) the King of *Spain* owes, for former Seizures, unjuſtly made, as much perhaps as his Proportion in the Treaſure of the *Galleons* amounts to.

Fourthly, to have *taken* the *Galleons* would not have been liable to the ſame Inconveniencies, as we have ſeverely felt by purſuing another Meaſure. The Expedition would have been ſoon over. The Expence of Lives and Treaſure would have been infinitely leſs. It would have coſt little or nothing to have kept the *Spaniards* out of their Money by a *Seizure*, as long as the true *Reaſon of Things* ſhould have required it; whereas it hath coſt us more than all that Money is worth, to keep them out of it by a *Blockade* only for a Time; and for a Time, which hath not been ſufficient to ſecure us againſt their *Deſigns*,

or to make them lay aside their *Pretensions.* *But if we had taken them* (says *Publicola*) *we should have taken the Money of* other People, *as well as of the* Spaniards. *We should have been* Pyrates. Let us see how this hangs together. If we had restored immediately to the Proprietors their respective Shares, as he supposes we must have done, the Brand of *Pyracy* would not have stuck upon us. But suppose we had thought fit not to restore their *Shares* to the *Spaniards*, till our Differences with the Court of *Madrid* had been settled; should we have been *Pyrates* in that Case? He will be laughed at, who affirms it. Would the King of *Spain*'s Share in this Treasure have been no Loss to him? Would he not have missed the extravagant *Indulto*, which he is now going to receive on this immense Treasure? Should we have been *Pyrates* for punishing in this Manner, a Prince, who actually besieged one of our Fortresses; who actually detained the Ships and seized the Estates of our Merchants; and whose Subjects every day killed, robbed and plundered the Subjects of *Great Britain*?

But I go a Step farther; for if we stop with *Publicola*, it will be always short of the Mark; and we shall never exhaust the Subject, as I desire to do, because I desire to find the Truth, and to be sure that I find it. What hath been said hitherto, hath been said on the Supposition of a *Seizure* only; and I hope the Scruples of *Publicola*'s timorous Conscience are appeased. I hope he hath found out, by this

Time, that ſuch a *Seizure* might have been carried on without *Pyracy*. But ſuppoſe it had been a *Capture*, not a *Seizure*; ſuch a *Capture* as can never be made but in Time of open War; ſuch a *Capture* as intitles the *Captors*, by our Laws, to the whole Profit of the Prize. Why then we had commenced a War againſt *Spain* by this Action; as *Spain* had done long before againſt us by a thouſand Hoſtilities. Why then Vice-Admiral *Hoſier*, and the Officers and Seamen of his Squadron, had been in the ſame Caſe as Sir *Charles Wager*, and the Officers and Seamen of his Squadron were in the laſt War; and I do not remember that theſe gallant Men were ever proſecuted as *Pyrates* at home; or reputed ſuch abroad; or obliged to refund any Part of the Treaſure they had taken.

Upon the whole Matter, *Publicola's* Argument proves nothing in the preſent Caſe; or it proves that even when we are at War with *Spain*, we muſt not preſume to attack theſe *ſacred Galleons*. Other Nations are always intereſted in them, as well as the *Spaniards*. It will therefore be always unlawful, according to this excellent Caſuiſt, to make Prize of them; and he is defied to diſtinguiſh himſelf out of this Abſurdity.

Having now gone through, what Mr. *Publicola* calls, I know not why, the *Subject in general*, we will examine the ſecond Part of his Epiſtle. I paſs over all the *Billingſgate*, with which he uſhers in this Part; though I could

could make myſelf, and you too very merry, if I would apply his Criticiſms on what *Raleigh* ſays, concerning *one Promiſe*, to the Interpretation, which was given to *another Promiſe*; by which we might have learned, amongſt many other curious Diſtinctions, the Difference between a *direct Promiſe* and a Promiſe *miniſterially worded*; but I ſhall leave him to his Phrenzy, and proceed ſoberly to ſhew you that he *ſays nothing*, or that, which is *worſe than nothing*, in every Line of this Performance; in which he ſeems to triumph with ſuch vaſt Complacency.

The Point he labours is to ſhew that the *Promiſe* made by the Lord *Stanhope* to reſtore *Gibraltar*, which hath not been complied with; and the Deſtruction of the *Spaniſh* Fleet on the Coaſt of *Sicily*, *threw the Court of* Madrid *into the Arms of the Emperor, and were the true Root and real Cauſe of all that thorough Hatred and deep Malice ſhewn in the Treaty of Vienna*; and by Conſequence that all our *preſent Difficulties* with *Spain* proceed from hence; from Cauſes laid many Years ago; and when the *preſent Miniſters* were not in Power. My Buſineſs ſhall not be to blame or to excuſe *any Miniſters*; but to make a true Deduction of Facts; and to reaſon clearly and juſtly upon them; and I charitably hope, that I may bring *Publicola* to do ſo in Time; if for no other Reaſon, at leaſt by obliging him to *take Shame to himſelf* ſo often; for though I am not ſo bloody-

minded

minded as *Publicola*, who talks as if he had *Heads* in his Power, yet I aſſure him that I will not let him alone whilſt, among other Enormities, he makes it his Buſineſs to bury *Truth* and *common Senſe* under ſuch weekly Heaps of Rubbiſh.

I ſhall ſhew immediately that in whatever Terms or Manner we ſuppoſe Lord *Stanhope* to have made a Promiſe of reſtoring *Gibraltar* to the *Spaniards*, it will be of no Avail to *Publicola*'s Purpoſe. But ſince *he* hath told us what he hath heard, and *Raleigh* hath told us what he hath heard (for neither of them can pretend to ſpeak on their own Knowledge, concerning this Affair) I will likewiſe take Leave to ſtate what I have been informed of, upon better Authority than what my *Adverſary* hath often writ upon in his affirmative Style.

I have been informed then that Lord *Stanhope* had been induced, or ſeduced (call it which you pleaſe) by the late *Regent of France* to make an *Overture* of this Kind at the Coutt of *Madrid*. Lord *Stanhope*, ſays our Author, might think that *Gibraltar* was to be *honeſtly given up for valuable Conſiderations*. He might ſo; and he was ſo honeſt a Man, ſo ſincere a Lover of his Country, that if he had thought in another Manner, no Conſideration of *private Intereſt*, no Regard to the Service of a *Miniſtry*, could have prevailed on him to make, nor even to entertain the Motion. But have a Care of your *Inſinua-*

tions,

tions, Mr. *Publicola*; and learn to make them with a little more Delicacy. The Caſe is vaſtly different *now*. The Senſe of our *auguſt Monarch* is known. The Senſe of the *whole Nation* hath been loudly proclaimed; and I believe *no Miniſter*, how preſuming ſoever, will venture, at this Time, to ſay that *Gibraltar* may be honourably or advantageouſly given up; and therefore no *virtuous Miniſter* will think he can honeſtly give it up; or conſpire in *Meaſures*, which may create the Appearance of a *Neceſſity* ſo to do——But to return to my Narration.

If ſuch an *Overture* was made by Lord *Stanhope*, it was made to prevail on the Court of *Spain* to deſiſt from the *Enterprize* they had then in hand; an *Enterprize*, which we ſhould have been obliged to prevent, if the Treaty of *Quadruple Alliance* had never been made, by Virtue of our *Guaranty to the Neutrality of Italy*. That this *Overture* was not received is evident; ſince the *Spaniards* went on with their *Expedition*, which ended in the Deſtruction of their *Fleet*. Now call This an *Overture*, as I do; or call it a *Promiſe*, as *Publicola* will affect to do; it was *vacated* to all Intents and Purpoſes by the *Spaniards*, who refuſed to comply with the *Condition*, on which it was and only could be grounded.

It hath been ſaid by ſome, that this *Promiſe* was renewed afterwards, to pacify the *Spaniards* for the Loſs of their Ships, and for their Defeat in *Sicily*; but this deſerves Explanation;

planation; and will not ſtand in the Light, which *thoſe*, who urge it, deſire it ſhould.

It is, I believe, true that the *French*, who firſt induced us to make this *Overture*, would on the Pretences juſt now mentioned, and on the Pretence of the Hopes, which the *Regent* had continued to give the *Spaniards*, have obliged us to acknowledge this *vacated Promiſe* as a ſubſiſting Obligation; but I have been informed that this was refuſed flatly to the *Miniſter* ſent over hither upon that Occaſion, and to the *Regent* himſelf by *our Miniſter* abroad. The *Promiſe* then continued *vacated*; and we were as much diſentangled from the Snares, which our *good Allies* laid for us, as if no ſuch *Promiſe* or *Overture* had been ever made.

But farther. If a *Promiſe* of this kind had been made on our Part, even after the Expedition to *Sicily*, which there is no Colour to affirm, yet *that Promiſe* muſt likewiſe have been *void*, ſince it was made ſo, to all Intents and Purpoſes, by the King of *Spain*'s Acceſſion to the * *Quadruple Alliance*.

That *all Poſſeſſions* are mutually confirmed by *that Treaty*, except ſuch as are *ſpecified* in it, cannot be denied. The Poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* was therefore again confirmed to us by the King of *Spain*, when he acceded to *that Treaty*; unleſs he can ſhew that our Poſſeſſion of it was *excepted*; or can produce any *private Article* or *Declaration*, which

* *Vide* the Treaty.

made

made a *Reservation of his Right to this Place*, notwithstanding the Cession of it made at *Utrecht*. But nothing of This can be shewn; and it hath been said, I believe truly, that a *contrary Declaration* was made solemnly and publickly by the *British Minister* in *Holland*, at the very Time when the Accession was signed.

Thus far then the Way is clear before us. When we came *Mediators* to the *Congress* of *Cambray* (for such we were at *that Place*, though we have the Misfortune to find ourselves principally and almost solely concerned in the Disputes to be settled at *Soissons)* the King of *Spain* had no *Right*, nor *Pretence of Right* to demand of *Great Britain* the Restitution of *Gibraltar*. Indeed, if he had then such a *Pretence*; if a *Promise*, on our Part, to restore this Place to him, which *Promise* we refused to execute, had then subsisted, how could he have accepted of our *Mediation*?

Ay, but (says this poor hunted Author, who doubles and shifts and works and tries, at any Rate, to save himself) Lord *Stanhope*, according to *Raleigh*'s own Confession, *was first in this Affair, and laid the Foundation of this Expectation in the* Spaniards.—*It is plain the* Spaniards *had such Assurances*. It is allowed you, at least for Argument sake, that Lord *Stanhope was first in this Affair*. *The* Spaniards *had such Assurances*. Make your most of it. These *Assurances* were *discharged*. These *Promises* were *released*;

released; and whatever Lord *Stanhope* can be supposed to have done or said about *Gibraltar* hath no more relation to the *present Dispute*, than what was done or said about *Gibraltar* in the Time of King *Rodrigue* and the *Count Julian*; so that our Author is building up a Right for the *Spaniards* upon Foundations, which were demolished as soon as laid. He is building up a *Right*, or he is building up *nothing*; for to talk, as he does, of *Expectations*, in Cases of this Nature, without establishing a *Right*, real or plausible, is too frivolous to deserve an Answer.

Let me illustrate this by a familiar Instance; for Things cannot be made too plain to him. I will suppose him a *Clergyman*. I will suppose that by Merit, of some Kind or other, he gets a *Promise* of a *Bishoprick*. After this, he does something, inconsistent with such a Promotion. He forfeits all *Title*. He renounces all *Pretensions* to it. Shall his Advocate be admitted to insist that, notwithstanding all this, he expects to be a *Bishop still*; and, instead of grounding his *Expectations* on his *Right*, ground his *Right* on his *Expectations?* No certainly; such an Advocate would be hissed out of Court, and would deserve at least to have his Gown pulled over his Ears.

But the *Spaniards* are not so chimerical. They ground their *Expectations*, and what they call their *Right*, on a *new Engagement* taken by us, as they say, *since* all the Transactions,

actions, mentioned above, were over; on a *private Article* in a *Treaty* made with them in 1721, stipulating the Contents of a LETTER to be written by the *late King*; and on the *Letter*, written in pursuance of *this Article*, the *Original* of which they offer to produce; and which they pretend to be a *positive Engagement* to restore *Gibraltar* to them.

With what Front now could *Publicola* affirm, that what *Raleigh says about the* Letter *is nothing to his Purpose, unless this* mysterious Letter *had been wrote before this same Kind of a verbal Promise was made?* ——If this *mysterious* or *ministerial Letter* had been writ before Lord *Stanhope*'s Promise was made, it would have been nothing to *Raleigh*'s Purpose; because his Purpose was to shew that the Demand, which the *Spaniards now* make of *Gibraltar*, cannot be made on any Thing which passed in Lord *Stanhope*'s Time; but it was extremely to his Purpose to shew that *this Letter* was writ *after* Lord *Stanhope*'s Death. Had *Publicola* taken upon him to ridicule the plainest and easiest Demonstration in *Euclid*, he could not have rendered himself more ridiculous than he does upon this Occasion.

I am at a Loss what Words to use. I have debarred myself from using *hard ones*; and none but the *hardest* are equal to what this *Writer* deserves. Let him pass then without any Animadversion from *me*. Let the *Reader* pronounce Sentence upon him.

To

To ſum up the whole on this Head. *Publicola* was to prove that my Lord *Stanhope*'s Promiſe to reſtore *Gibraltar* is one of the Reaſons of the *preſent Obſtinacy of the Spaniards*, and by Conſequence of our *preſent Difficulties*. Now it is notorious that in Fact the *Spaniards* ground their Demand on ſomething which paſſed whilſt he was alive. *Publicola* ſays *it never appeared that the* preſent Miniſtry *came into ſuch Aſſurances*. If he means the *Aſſurances* given by my Lord *Stanhope*, and long ago made *null*, he is moſt certainly in the Right, for a very obvious Reaſon. But if he means the *Aſſurances* ſtill inſiſted upon, I have nothing to ſay but this, *Theſe Aſſurances*, or what the *Spaniards* call by *that Name*, were given *in the Year of our Lord* 1721.

The *ſecond Reaſon* aſſigned, by this *profound Politician*, for the Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards*, is the *Reſentment*, which hath lain at their Hearts, ever ſince we deſtroyed their *Fleet*. Here are no *Proofs* offered; nor can there be any which are *direct*; becauſe the Aſſertion relates to what paſſes, and hath paſſed theſe many Years, in the Hearts of the King, Queen, and Miniſters of *Spain*. It is a Fact, which we are to take on the bare Word of *this Author*, or to reject. I make no Scruple of rejecting it, becauſe the *probable Reaſons* againſt it ſeem to me of much greater Weight than his *ſingle Authority* in any Caſe, and eſpecially in a Caſe of this Nature. The

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Spaniards were certainly not very well pleaſed with us for deſtroying their *Fleet.* But doth it follow from hence that the *Reſentment*, which they conceived upon this Occaſion, operates thus ſtrongly ſtill? How often were the *French* beaten by us in the laſt War? Were not whole Squadrons of *their Ships* deſtroy'd? How many of *their Armies* were defeated? How many of *their Towns* were taken? notwithſtanding which, we ſee with Pleaſure, the moſt *perfect Harmony*, the moſt *intimate friendſhip*, ſubſiſt between their *Court* and *ours*; even from the Time, when their Diſgraces were recent, and when their Reſentments againſt us muſt have run the higheſt, if it was true that *Reſentment*, and not the *Ragione di Stato* (as the *Italians* call it) govern'd the Conduct of Princes. *But the* Spaniards *are more vindictive than the* French. This may be ſaid perhaps by People, who are apt to ſupport one Affirmation by another, and to call That Proof. But then how came it to paſs that the *Spaniards* were ſo ſoon reconciled to the *French*, and enter'd into ſuch cloſe Alliances with them immediately after the Campaign of 1718? If the *Britiſh Arms* beat the *Spaniſh Fleet*, the *French Arms* took the *Spaniſh Towns* at the ſame Time. The *near Relation* and the *antient Friendſhip* between the two Courts of *France* and *Spain*, it may be ſaid again, render'd their Reconciliation eaſy. But this would be to ſuppoſe what is quite contrary to the natural Courſe

of human Paſſions. According to *that*, the Court of *Spain* muſt have been infinitely more piqued againſt their *own Family*, for joining in Oppoſition to them with the *Emperor*, who had been ſo long their *common Enemy*, than againſt the Court of *Britain*, who had not the ſame *Ties* to them, and who acted for an *old Ally*. This is natural and probable. Nay, when we conſider how many Marks of the *utmoſt Reſentment* were ſhewn at that Time by the *Spaniſh* to the *French* Court; how many Intrigues the *former* carry'd on to ſubvert the Government, and to raiſe a Rebellion in *France*; I think we may juſtify affirming that this is true in Fact. And yet how ſoon was all this forgot at *Madrid*? How ſoon was the Reunion of the two Courts brought about in the cloſeſt Manner, and cemented by *Marriages*?

The King and Queen of *Spain* might look on the Proceedings of the *French*, in this Affair, as a *political Quarrel* and a *national Wrong*; but they look'd on an Affair, which happen'd a few Years afterwards, as a *perſonal Injury* and *Affront*. I mean the ſending back the *Infanta* in ſo abrupt, ſo unprepared a Manner, without any ſoftening, and with ſo many aggravating Circumſtances. Never *Reſentment* run higher, nor was expreſs'd in Terms of greater Paſſion, than that of the Court of *Madrid* upon this Occaſion; and yet one or two Sacrifices, a little Addreſs, and a little Management pacify'd all; united the

two Courts again; and reſtored to the *French*, in a ſhort Time, ſuch an Influence in *Spain*, that it is marvellous we, who depend ſo much upon it, ſhould not yet have found the leaſt Effect from it in our Favour.

I have dwelt on theſe Obſervations, in order to ſhew to what poor Expedients *thoſe Writers* are reduced, who attribute the *preſent Obſtinacy* of the *Spaniards*, to the *beating their Fleet above nine Years ago*. Surely it is ſtrange that the Cardinal *de Fleury* ſhould have been able, in *ſeven* or *eight Months Time*, to re-eſtabliſh a good Correſpondence and Friendſhip between the two Courts of *France* and *Spain*, after ſo great and ſo ſenſible an Affront as *Philip* and his *Queen* thought was put upon them by his *Predeceſſor in the Miniſtry*; and that *our Miniſters* ſhould not be able, in the Courſe of *as many Years*, to atone for what *their Predeceſſors* did; nor to pacify the *Reſentment* of the *Spaniards*, for their Loſs of the *Fleet* in an Action, which they might have avoided; and which they render'd, in ſome Sort, unavoidable to us. It is impoſſible to believe that ſuch an *Incident* ſhould produce theſe Effects; which ſeem to *ſtrengthen*, rather than to grow *weaker*, the farther they are removed from this *ſuppoſed Cauſe* of them. There muſt be ſomething more recent than this Anger at a *Loſs*, long ſince ſuſtain'd and *repair'd* too, as I believe. Perhaps we may begin to make ſome Diſcovery of this kind, when we examine

the *next Article*; to which I ſhall proceed as ſoon as I have made a few Reflections more on this Head, which *Publicola* moſt prudently ſuggeſts to me, and which will be of wonderful Service to his Cauſe.

Nor does the Quadruple Alliance (ſays he; but he muſt mean the King of *Spain*'s Acceſſion to this *Alliance*) being after the *Promiſe* (that is, Lord *Stanhope*'s *Promiſe* or *Overture*, concerning *Gibraltar*) *prove the* Spaniards *had given up their Expectations founded on that Promiſe; but only that they were not, at that Time, in proper Circumſtances to inſiſt upon it.* I have ſhewn how ſilly it is to talk of *Expectations*, without any *Right* to expect; and how the *Right* of the *Spaniards* to *Gibraltar*, acquired by Lord *Stanhope*'s *Promiſe*, or *Overture*, either *real* or *ſuppoſed*, was extinguiſh'd before the Year 1721. But I agree that if they had then had even a *real Right*, they muſt have ſubmitted to give it up, as they did at that Time, becauſe of the *Circumſtances*, into which they were fallen. Let me aſk Mr. *Publicola* what reduced them to theſe Circumſtances? He muſt anſwer, it was beating their *Fleet*. They had been as obſtinate *before* that time, as it is poſſible for them to be *now*. *Alberoni* talk'd at leaſt as high as the *Marquis de la Paz*. But they grew complying as ſoon as this Hoſtility was committed. Might not the taking their *Galleons* have had the ſame Effect lately? Would not our *incomparable Miniſters*, who *run up and*

down

down the World negotiating and making Treaties, with ſo much Credit to themſelves, and ſo much Honour and Advantage to the Nation, have done better (I ſpeak it with due Submiſſion to their approved Wiſdom) to imitate, than to blame the Conduct of their *Predeceſſors?* From 1721, to 1725, we heard of nothing but the *happy* and *flouriſhing* State of our Affairs. This muſt have been owing, according to *Publicola*, to the *Circumſtances* the *Spaniards* were in; and therefore this muſt have been owing to the Defeat, which they received in the *Mediterranean*. How came we to hear from the very ſame Perſons, that all our *Difficulties* and the *Diſtreſſes* we are in at preſent, ought to be dated before the Year 1721? Surely, to be in a *flouriſhing State*, a Nation muſt be in a *ſecure State*; and how could that be true, if, during the *four Years* I have mention'd, a powerful Neighbour meditated *Revenge*, and only waited an Opportunity of ſtriking home? How could it be declared, even from the *Throne, that* * *nothing more than the* Forms *of a* Congreſs *were wanting to eſtabliſh the publick Tranquility*, if the grand Quarrel between *us* and *Spain* did, in Effect, ſubſiſt at that Time?

There are People ſo very regardleſs of *Truth*, and ſo very indifferent to the Shame

* *Vide* the King's Speech at the Opening of the Seſſion, 1721.

 of

of being convicted of *Falſhood*, that they never conſider, when they affirm a Fact, any Thing more than the *preſent Expediency*. Strange, almoſt incredible Inſtances of this might be quoted. I paſs them over in Silence for many Reaſons; and, amongſt others, for this Reaſon, that ſome of them are too recent to be forgot. I ſtick to the Point before me; and ſhall conclude it by obſerving that when *Publicola* aſſigns all the *Difficulties*, which we have labour'd under, ſince the Year 1725, to what paſs'd before the Year 1721, he is confuted not only by the Reaſons I have urged, which ſeemed to me unanſwerable, but likewiſe by an *Authority*, which every Man will allow to be *deciſive*.

The *next Article* to be conſider'd is this, *Raleigh*, who was not ſatisfy'd with *Publicola*'s Way of accounting for our *preſent Difficulties*, and for the cloſe Alliance between the Emperor and *Spain*, had aſcribed both to our Refuſal of the *ſole Mediation* at *Cambray*. He is accuſed of maliciouſly concealing the Truth, and of imputing that to *ill Management*, *extraordinary Refinement* and *great Tenderneſs*, which was the *Reſult of true Reaſon*. Now I think I can demonſtrate that *Publicola* is ignorant of the *Truth*; or that he conceals it, I will not ſay *corruptly*, but *unfairly*.

That the *Treaty of* Vienna *was actually and in form ſign'd, before it could be ſo much as known at* Vienna *that we had refuſed the*

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ſole Mediation, I might grant in *one Senſe*, and for the ſake of Argument; (though I do not believe that the Fact is juſt as he ſtates it) and yet I might ſafely deny the ſame Thing in the *only Senſe*, in which this Fact can be of the leaſt Uſe to *our Author*. I can grant that *this Treaty* might be ſign'd *in Form* at *Vienna*, before it could be known there, *in Form*, that we had refuſed the *ſole Mediation*; before the Couriers from *Cambray* to *London*, from *London* to *Paris*, from *Paris* to *Madrid*, from *Madrid* to *Vienna* could perform their Journies, and the ſeveral Courts could hold their Councils and make their Diſpatches. But the *certain Knowledge* of our refuſing this *Mediation* might very well arrive at *Vienna* before the *Treaty* was ſign'd; nay, the *Treaty* might be ſign'd upon this Knowledge, by Virtue of Inſtructions given with this *Contingency* ſpecify'd in them. I ſay this might be the Caſe; and therefore to affirm this Fact, in the Terms *Publicola* affirms it, is nothing to the Purpoſe. What *Raleigh* advanced may ſtill be true.

That *full Powers* were given by *Spain* to carry on the *Treaty of Vienna* four Months before this Offer of the *Mediation*, is moſt certainly true; and therefore there is as much Reaſon to be aſtoniſh'd that early Meaſures were not taken to prevent it, as there is that other Meaſures, than what we have ſeen purſued, were not taken to prevent the Effects of ſuch a *Treaty*. Could it be an abſolute

Secret to our *Miniſters*, (who ought to be well inform'd; ſince they have had ſuch immenſe Sums for *ſecret Service*, as were never heard of before their Time) that *Spain* was negotiating at *Vienna*, during theſe four Months? Could it be a Secret to them that, from the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, and about a Year, at leaſt, before this *Treaty* was concluded, the *Spaniſh Miniſters* were full of Fears and Jealouſies about the compleating the *Infanta*'s Marriage with the King of *France?* If theſe Things, which were not quite unknown to moſt private Perſons, who obſerved the Courſe of publick Events, and who ſought Information about them, did not eſcape the Intelligence of our *Miniſters*, how could a Conſideration of the Circumſtances, which the Court of *Spain* was in at that Period, eſcape their Sagacity?

From the Time of the Acceſſion of the King of *Spain* to the *Quadruple Alliance*, the whole Management of the Court of *Madrid* had been left to the Duke of *Orleans* and his Cardinal *du Bois*; and if we were drawn into the Treaty made at *Madrid* in 1721, by this *Prince* and his *Miniſter*, as I verily believe we were; it is eaſy to ſee *who* was thank'd for this by the *Spaniards*, and how watchful *France* hath conſtantly been to ſeize and improve every Occaſion of rendering our Title to *Gibraltar* diſputable, and of wreſting this important Place out of our Hands. We came then into the Congreſs of *Cambray* joint Mediators

diators with the *French*, between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, but not with equal Advantage; not with an equal Share in the Confidence of *one* of the Parties; and with our Share in the Confidence of the *other* perhaps, a little diminiſhed; for it is not unlikely that the *private Treaty*, made at *Madrid* with the King of *Spain*, whilſt we were Mediator at *Cambray* between him and the Emperor, might give Umbrage at leaſt to the *latter*. I know not whether this Step did not even occaſion ſome Complaint, though not in *Form*, perhaps, from the *Imperial Miniſters*.

In this State of Things, and in this Diſpoſition of all Parties, what could it be imagined that the *Spaniards* ſhould turn themſelves to, on the Foreſight of a Rupture of all Intimacy, and even Correſpondence with *France*? Could they reſolve to leave themſelves without *any Ally* with ſo many *Enemies*, and with their Intereſts ſtill unadjuſted? Could they reſolve to run the Riſque, in this Condition, of falling back into a State of War, when they were about to purchaſe Peace at a Price, which they thought ſo dear? Could they reſolve to abandon themſelves intirely to *Great Britain*, who had hitherto ſhewn ſo much Partiality to the Emperor, ſtill their Enemy, and whoſe principal Intercourſe with them had been managed hitherto by *France*, to whom they expected ſoon to become *Enemies*? Certainly they could not reſolve upon this,

this, even as I have ſtated the Caſe; much leſs could they do ſo, if they had ſuch an inveterate Rancour at Heart, as *Publicola* repreſents. What then could our *Miniſters* imagine the *Spaniards* ſhould do upon a Foreſight of the *Infanta*'s being ſent back, and by Conſequence of breaking with *France*? I will venture to ſay, for it is plain and evident, that if they thought any Thing on this Affair, they muſt think the very Thing, which the *Spaniards* did. The *Spaniards* began to treat at *Vienna*, that they might prepare for the worſt; and they delayed concluding their *Treaty*, till what they feared happened. Give me Leave to add, that it was eaſy to ſee that, whenever the Miniſters of *Philip* and the *Imperialiſts* ſhould come to examine their Maſter's Intereſt together, they would ſoon find theſe Intereſts not ſo hard to reconcile, nor their Want of *Mediators* ſo great, as they had imagined, whilſt Rivalſhip and Pique kept them at a Diſtance; and that there were Men of great Weight in the Emperor's Court, whoſe private Intereſt muſt render them particularly zealous to promote this Union. All this happened; and it affords a pregnant Inſtance of what I ſaid above, that *Reaſon of State* will determine the Conduct of Princes; not *old*, *ſtale*, *Reſentments*.

From what hath been thus ſtated I deſire to make ſome *Inferences*, and to recommend them to *Publicola*'s Conſideration.

Firſt

First then. It appears more ridiculous than ever to talk of the *Promise of Gibraltar* and the *Loss of their Fleet* as lying at the Hearts of the *Spaniards* and breaking out upon this Occasion. Neither must it be said absolutely, that our refusing the *sole Mediation* at *Cambray* threw *Spain* into the Arms of the Emperor. In what Respect this Step might contribute to it, will be said presently. But the principal and determining Cause of *Spain*'s uniting so closely with the Emperor, was the sending back the *Infanta*.

Secondly. However sudden the immediate Resolution for the Departure of this Princess from *France* might be; yet this Design had been long in Agitation; so long, that the Suspicion of it had been entertained by the *Spaniards*, and was even publickly owned by their *Ministers* very many Months before they sent their *full Powers* for carrying on a Treaty at *Vienna*.

Thirdly. There was surely, in the whole Progress of this Affair, Notice enough to alarm any reasonable Men; and Time enough to prepare for the Consequences of a Breach between *France* and *Spain*. During the Life of the Duke of *Orleans*, he had, and it could not well be otherwise, the chief Credit at *Madrid*. But it was obvious enough that, by sending back the *Infanta*, his Successor would furnish us with a fair Opportunity of attempting at least to get between *France* and *Spain*, as *France* had stood between *Spain* and

and *us*, and of maintaining ourſelves in that Poſt. This indeed was an Object of the utmoſt Importance; which deſerved more than all our Negotiations have coſt us; and which it is not impoſſible might have been accompliſhed for leſs. Whenever it ſhall appear that we took all the Meaſures, in our Power, in a proper Manner and at a proper Time, for this great End, infinite Honour will accrue to our *Miniſters* without Diſpute.

Fourthly. If we had been as much prepared, as one would think we might in ſo many Months have been, we ſhould have had ſome great Advantages, which, if we were unprepared for theſe Events, and even ſurprized at them, it was impoſſible we ſhould reap.

The *ſole Mediation* could not indeed have been ſooner offered than it was; becauſe it could not be offered till *Spain* had broke with *France*, and then it was offered to us. Nay, if it had been offered ſooner, I agree that we could not have accepted it ſooner, for Reaſons of *Policy* and even of *Decency*. But if we had been prepared for theſe *Events*, we might have ſtruck a great Stroke, as the Generality of the World thought, and continue to think, by accepting the *Mediation* in Form, as ſoon as it was offered. In the Caſe ſuppoſed of *preparatory Meaſures* taken by us, on a Foreſight of ſuch a *Conjuncture*, it is probable that *Spain* would not have been extravagant enough to precipitate ſo bad a Bargain as ſhe made for herſelf in the *Vienna Treaty*. Having

no *Mediator* nor even *Ally*, ſhe was under a Neceſſity of granting almoſt any Terms to the Emperor, provided ſhe ſecured the *main Points*, which ſhe had in View. But, ſure of our Support, and ſhe might have had Aſſurances ſufficient for her to depend upon, it is impoſſible to think ſhe would have carried her Conceſſions farther than ſhe needed to have done. In this Caſe, none of thoſe *Engagements* (which were talked of, but which have never yet appeared) ſo injurious to *Britain* could have been taken; and we might have had perhaps the Satisfaction of ſeeing the Peace of *Europe* conſummated by the Reconciliation of *two Princes*; the Adjuſtment of whoſe Intereſts had been ſo long our Care; and whoſe Union is, without Doubt, in general, and unleſs ſome particular Circumſtances of a very Extraordinary Nature hinder it, the common Advantage of all thoſe, who deſire to ſee a *Balance* of Power preſerved in the Weſtern World. But I go farther. I will ſuppoſe that we had not been able to ſoften *Spain*; or that we had not attempted it, which perhaps was the Caſe; that *Spain* looked on us with a jealous, and even a revengeful Eye: and in ſhort that the *Mediation* was offered to us without any Deſign that we ſhould concern ourſelves in it, and purely for Form ſake; yet ſurely, even in this Caſe, ſome Advantage might have been taken by our immediate Acceptance of it. Our Conduct, at leaſt, would have been free from

any

any Objection; and *Spain* and the Emperor would have been left without any Colour of Excuse. Might not such a Step have retarded the Conclusion of this famous *Treaty*? Might not Time have been gained; and would not the least Time, in this Case, have been of the greatest Moment to us?

Fifthly. When the *Mediation* was offered us, we could not know how soon the *Treaty* would be signed. It cannot be pretended that we did. Our *Refusal* of it therefore must have been grounded purely on these two Considerations, (so often urged in Defence of this Measure) that the *Spaniards* were our *inveterate Enemies*, and that we were in *Alliance* with the *French*. What is meant by being in *Alliance* with the *French*, and making this a Distinction between our Relation to *them* and our Relation to the *Spaniards*, I am at a Loss to find. We were surely in *Alliance* with *one Nation*, as well as the *other*, from the Moment the King of *Spain* acceded to the *Quadruple Alliance*, and the Matters still unsettled at *Cambray* were solely relative to him and to the Emperor. If it be meant that we thought the *French* our Friends, and knew that the *Spaniards waited only for a pretended Occasion to break out into Enmity with us*; I think this Reason will prove the very contrary of what it is advanced to prove. Did we suspect that something contrary to our Interest, something dangerous to us, was working up in the Negotiation of *Vienna*;

and did we for this very Reaſon decline an Opportunity of coming at ſome Knowledge of what was in Agitation there? Did we, for this very Reaſon, refuſe the *beſt Means* we could have hoped for, of keeping up our antient Friendſhip with the *Imperial Court*, and of being in a Condition to check the Court of *Spain?* ſuch Arguments as theſe will not paſs; and whoever produces them hath too mean an Opinion of the reſt of Mankind, and too preſumptuous an Opinion of his own Sufficiency. On the Part of *France*, no Objection could have been made to us, if we had accepted this *Mediation*; for either the Points to be mediated upon were *pure Trifles*; ſuch as the *Titles*, and other Matters of as little Weight, referred to the Congreſs of *Cambray*; in which Caſe our accepting the *ſole Mediation* muſt have been quite indifferent to the *French*; or theſe Points were of *Moment to the general Intereſt*; and in this Caſe, the *French* ought to have deſired that we ſhould continue in the *Mediation*, for the ſame Reaſons, which ought to have determined us to do ſo. If the Friendſhip and Confidence between *us* and the *French* was not ſo ſtrict as it hath been repreſented, they did not deſerve the Compliment we made them. If this Friendſhip and Confidence were ſo ſtrict, they might and they would have truſted us with Pleaſure. Every one knows how concerned and alarmed the *French* were at the Reſentment, which the King of *Spain* ſhewed on this Occaſion. Their firſt

first Care was to try all possible Means of pacifying him. If we could have been one of these Means, their Obligations to, and their Confidence in us must have increased. We might have treated for them, when they could not treat for themselves. Instead of this, by Dint of Management, we so disposed Affairs, that the *French* in a short Time treated for *us* with the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, with whom we could not treat for ourselves.

The *last Inference* I shall make, from all that hath been said, is this. As sending back the *Infanta* was the certain and immediate Cause of *throwing* Spain *into the Arms of the* Emperor; so our Refusal of the *sole Mediation* may justly be deemed an accessory Cause of it. This *Refusal* might give Occasion to carry the *Engagements* of these *two Princes* farther than it was for our Interest that they should go. At least, our *Acceptance* of it was the *sole, probable Measure*, in that Instant, of preventing such *Engagements*; for this Union of the Emperor and the King of *Spain* is not, in itself, so terrible. *Spain* might be as well, nay better for *us* and for all *Europe*, in the Arms of the Emperor than of *France*; and if this Union is become *formidable* to us, we may thank for it our *own Management*, through a long Series of Business, and through divers Revolutions of Affairs; our too much Neglect of *Spain*; our too much Dependence on *France*; our being, upon all Occasions, indefatigably busy about the Interests

tereſts of *other People*, and leaving to other People the Conduct of *our own*; of which ſurely a more ſtrange Example cannot be imagined than that, which is before our Eyes. We would not attempt, nay we would not conſent to be *Mediators*, when we ſtood in that Character, and could ſtand in no other, notwithſtanding all the Reaſons for it in that *nice Conjuncture*. Such was our Delicacy. But we have admitted and (may I be allow'd to ſay ſo?) we have courted *France* to act as *Mediator*, where ſhe is a *Party*; for *France* is a *Party* to the *Treaty of Hanover*; and the *Treaty of Hanover*, with the *Treaty of Vienna*, give Occaſion *jointly* to the Congreſs of *Soiſſons*, and all the preſent Negotiations.

That *France is a Party in our Quarrel*, we have been often told; and that ſhe would *act as ſuch*, we have been often aſſured. She was to make *beſieging Gibraltar* a *Caſus Fœderis*. She was to march an Army into *Rouſillon*. What was ſhe not to do?—But we have ſeen her act hitherto no Part but that of a *Mediator*; a *common Friend*; but *unconcern'd in the Quarrel*. No good Effect hath yet appear'd, even from her Offices as *Mediator*. If, by theſe Offices, ſhe hath kept us *from acting for ourſelves*, and made us prefer a *precarious Dependence* to a *vigorous War*, I am ſure the *Effect* of her acting in this Character hath been a *bad one for Britain*.

Nothing can be more plain than that Chain of Cauſes and Effects, which hath drag'd

us into our *present Difficulties*; and as these Difficulties *increased*, the *Obstinacy* of *Spain* must of Course *increase* likewise. If *that Court* had never thought of getting *Gibraltar* out of our Hands, the State we brought ourselves into was sufficient to suggest the Design to them. When once *Spain* had purchased the Emperor's Alliance, (I may use this Expression; the *Treaty of Vienna* will justify it) she might flatter herself that he would adhere to her, even in *unreasonable Expectations*; since he had no more to expect from *us*, and had so much to receive from *her*. As soon as we had sagely declined having to do with her, or for her, unless in Concert with *France*, with whom she would have nothing to do at that Time, *France* employ'd all possible Means to be reconcil'd to her. Intrigues of every Sort, *ecclesiastical* and *secular*, were set on Foot. They succeeded; and *Spain* saw she had nothing to apprehend. What she had to hope, I determine not, from *this Party* to the *Hanover Treaty*. The *other Princes* and *States*, who acceded to *this Treaty*, acceded in *such a manner*, as it is easy to prove (if *Publicola* should think fit to deny it) that *we* could have little to hope and *Spain* little to apprehend from *their Engagements*, in her Disputes with us about our *immediate Interests*.

All *other Powers* soften'd towards each other by Degrees; and by Degrees WE got deeper into the Quarrel. *Spain*, from having

ing *no Ally*, came to have *many*; ſome more, ſome leſs to be *depended on*; none to be *fear'd*. From having a *Multitude of Diſputes*, ſhe came to have *none*, except with *us*. *We*, on the other Hand, from having *none of our Intereſts in Diſpute*, are come to ſee hardly *any others in Controverſy*. From feeling ourſelves back'd by *ſeveral Allies*, we are come, at leaſt in the *Points of direct Relation* to us, to have in Effect *no Ally but one*; and with that *one* we own that we are *diſſatisfy*'d; nay we own that we are *afraid* of him. The *Writer*, I am anſwering, inſinuates both; nay, he does it almoſt in *expreſs Words*. He complains of the *Indifference* of *France* in ſupport of our Intereſts; and of the *Danger* of engaging in a *War*, in Concert with *France*. Who would have thought it, Mr. *D'Anvers?* Here is the *London Journal* contradicting the *Enquiry*; and I am able to point out to you many groſs Inſtances of his doing the ſame Thing. Here is *Publicola* accounting for our *preſent Difficulties*, now they are come upon us, by the *very Arguments*, which were urged againſt the *Hanover Treaty*, and which proved that the *natural Conſequence* of *that Treaty* was juſt what the *Event* hath ſhewn it to be. Thoſe, who wrote againſt the *Enquiry*, foretold what would happen. *Publicola* juſtifies the *Miniſtry*, by complaining that it hath happen'd!

I will mention but one Inſtance more of this kind; and that ſhall be with Relation to

the *Ostend Company*. *The grand Quarrel*, says *Publicola*, *was between* Us *and* Spain. *The* Ostend *Trade, about which such a Noise hath been made, was more the Concern of our* Neighbours, *both by* Treaty *and* Interest, *than our* own.——Now I will leave the World to decide by WHOM *all this Noise about the* Ostend *Trade hath been made*. Did not you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, and several other Writers, maintain that *this Company* was of but *little Concern* to us, in Opposition to the whole Party, on the contrary Side, who took all possible Pains, both within Doors and without, to prove that the *Ostend Trade* was a Point of the *utmost Concern to Britain*, and even equal to *Gibraltar* itself? Nay the Author of the *Enquiry* (who hath now the Mortification to see himself given up, in every material Article, by *both Parties*; even by *Those*, who set him to work) goes so far, p. 57. of that memorable Performance, as to assert that *Gibraltar* would be of *no Importance* to us, if the *Ostend Company* should be suffer'd to subsist; and having labour'd that Point, with all his Strength, for no less than twenty Pages together, concludes it thus; *That not only our own* East *and* West India *Trade, and that of the* Dutch, *will be ruin'd by the* Ostend Company, *which will be the immediate* Effect *of it (or rather is so already in some Degree) but also that the Contagion will spread to many other Branches of the* British *and* Dutch *Trade; and convey along with it the* Riches,

the

the Strength, *and the* naval Power *to the ſame* Spaniſh Netherlands.

But were it ſo that Holland *alone would be the Sufferer by the* Oſtend *Trade*; (*which is* far *from being the Caſe* ;) *yet the Ruin of* Holland *muſt carry along with it, in the End, the* RUIN OF BRITAIN.

Such *Abſurdities* as theſe would provoke *Merriment* in a Caſe of leſs Conſequence; but they provoke *Indignation* in a Caſe, where the Honour and Intereſt of our King and Country are ſo deeply concern'd.

Into this State were our *foreign Affairs* brought, when his preſent Majeſty *came to the Crown*. I mention this the rather, becauſe *they*, who now think it for their Intereſt to date the Riſe of all this Miſchief ſo much *backwarder* than it can conſiſtently with *Truth* be dated, may poſſibly find it for their Intereſt hereafter, if *new* and almoſt *unavoidable Difficulties* ſhould come upon us, in Conſequence of what they have done in a FORMER REIGN, to date the Riſe of them as much *too forward*. Let it then be remember'd that all, which hath happen'd in THIS REIGN, is no more than a *Prolongation of the ſame Scene*. The great Scenes of the World are not to be ſhifted at our Pleaſure. They muſt be continued ſometimes, when we are convinced the moſt that they are *weakly framed*. *Opportunities* muſt be waited for, and we truſt they will happen. We are ſure they will be improved by the

Capacity, the Vigour, the Experience and Valour of our august Monarch. A *seasonable* and *powerful Effort* hath often broke through the most complicated Evils. A *Word* hath often effected what the most *tedious Negotiations*, such as we have been accustom'd to, could never have brought about.

I have now done with Mr. *Publicola* for this Time; and I hope for good and all. If my Letter is grown into a greater Length than I design'd, this hath been owing principally to an earnest Desire of setting *these Matters* (so often and so grosly *misrepresented*) in a just and clear Light. I have advanced no *Facts*, but such as are of publick Notoriety; such as I know to be true; and such as I do verily believe to be so, upon such Grounds as reasonable Men have always thought sufficient to constitute, in Cases of this Nature, the highest Probability. I have endeavour'd to push no Consequence, nor to strain any Argument farther than I judged it would evidently bear; for whatever *Publicola* may think, which concerns me little, I assure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I would not have given myself this Trouble, small as it is, of answering him for any other Reason but this; That, in order to get well out of our *present Difficulties* and *Dangers*, it is necessary to know truly how we came into them; and that he therefore, who contributes to dispel from before the Eyes of Mankind those Mists of *Error*, which are so industriously raised at

this Time, does ſome Service to his King and his Country.

I am, Sir, *&c.*

JOHN TROT.

REMARKS *on a late Pamphlet,* intitled, *Obſervations on the Conduct of* GREAT-BRITAIN, *&c. In a Letter to* CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

Written in the Year 1729.

THE late Pamphlet, intitled, *Obſervations on the Conduct of* Great-Britain, *&c.* being chiefly deſign'd as an Anſwer to my firſt Letter on the pretended Project of a TRUCE, it may be thought incumbent on me to juſtify what I have written; for though this Piece (which conſiſts of nothing but *Inconſiſtencies, Contradictions, Prevarications,* and *downright Falſhoods)* is already ſunk into that Contempt, which it deſerves; yet when a *private Perſon* launches into Politicks, it is his Duty to pay ſome Regard to an Adverſary, who produces the leaſt Marks of Authority, however mean and deſpicable his Performance may be thought.

The Shortneſs of Time will, I hope, excuſe any little Inaccuracies of Stile, or trivial

 Miſtakes,

Miſtakes, that I may happen to fall into through the Courſe of theſe Remarks, which every Body will perceive required Haſte.

I ſhall paſs over all his little Sophiſtry on the *Freedom of Writing*, as well as his dirty Imputations of *Libelling*, *Diſaffection* and ill Deſigns againſt the *Government* (thoſe trite, worn-out Topicks of every wretched Scribbler againſt you for above theſe two Years paſt) and come directly to the Points, upon which the whole Streſs of his Arguments, ſuch as they are, depends.

The firſt Objection, which he undertakes to confute, is the *ſuppoſed Inactivity of our Squadrons, and the Depredations committed by the* Spaniards *upon our Merchants in the* Weſt-Indies.

In order to do this, he hath given us, what he calls, the *Inſtructions* to Admiral *Hoſier*, and the other Commanders of our Squadrons in thoſe Parts.

I ſhall not enquire from *whom* he received theſe Lights; though it ſeems very extraordinary that a *little, obſcure Pamphleteer* ſhould be favour'd with Papers of ſuch a private Nature, as have been ſometimes refuſed, even upon Applications in *Parliament*.

Neither will I offer to diſpute whether theſe Inſtructions are *genuine* and *authentick*; tho' there are ſeveral Things in them, which have a ſuſpicious Aſpect. By the *firſt Orders*, given to Admiral *Hoſier*, it looks as if *thoſe* who ſent him, did not underſtand the Service

they

they ſent him upon; for they direct him to block up the *Flota* and *Galleons* in the Port of *Cartagena*; which is indeed a proper Port to look for the *Galleons* in; but the *Flota* was never there, ſince the *Spaniards* traded to that Country. By the *ſecond Inſtructions*, they ſeem to be ſenſible of their Miſtake, by giving him diſtinct Orders to take Care of the *Flota*; which makes it probable that, at firſt, they took the *Flota* and *Galleons* to be the *ſame Fleet*, and did not know that *one* came from *Peru*, and the *other* from *Mexico*.

Neither can I find out the Reaſon for preferring the *Galleons*, in theſe *Inſtructions*, to the *Flota*; for if keeping the *Spaniſh Treaſure* from going home was the Intent of that Expedition, the *Flota* was as material an Attention as the *Galleons*, having as much Money aboard them; and both might have been intercepted, had our Fleet been rightly ſtationed at firſt, *viz.* in the Bay of *Matanzas* in the Iſland of *Cuba*, where they might have ſtayed much more conveniently than at the *Baſtimentos*.

Indeed ſtopping the *Flota* is made the next Point to ſtopping the *Galleons*; but conſidering the Port, from whence it comes, and the Courſe it ſteers, it was almoſt impoſſible that a Squadron, lying at the *Baſtimentos*, ſhould intercept them, or gain any Intelligence of them.

In another Part of theſe Orders, Admiral *Hoſier* is inſtructed to PERSUADE *the* Spaniards

niards *to let him take them;* which I confeſs looks, at firſt Sight, ſomewhat *romantick* and *ridiculous.*

Theſe Particulars, I ſay, might render the whole liable to Suſpicion; but though I could not help taking ſome Notice of them, I would not be thought to infer *from hence* the Impoſſibility of their being *authentick*; for though I have a very bad Opinion of the *Pamphleteer,* I cannot think that he would dare to impoſe upon the World in a Matter of ſuch Conſequence; but ſince it was thought neceſſary to give the Publick ſome Satisfaction in this Affair, I could wiſh he had favoured us with ALL *theſe Inſtructions* at Length and entire, (for this does not appear to be the Caſe) that we might have been able to form a true Judgment, upon a View of the *Whole,* which cannot be ſo well done by *Scraps* and *Extracts.*

However, it appears from *theſe Orders* themſelves (as he hath thought fit to publiſh them) that *ſtopping the Galleons* was to be their *chief Care*; and that they were not to *riſque the Succeſs of it upon any Account.* I will therefore leave it to the Judgment of Mankind, whether any prudent Officer, under ſuch a *ſtrict* and *particular Injunction,* would run the leaſt Hazard of failing in that *main Point,* by endeavouring to protect our *Merchants.* It is certain, at leaſt, that the *Spaniards* did, and do ſtill continue their Outrages with very little Moleſtation, and with-

without any *considerable Reprisals* made on our Parts. Nay, the Commanders of our Squadrons were so far from giving any Assistance to our Merchants in those Seas, that it is well known the Exigencies of the publick Service obliged them to make such an *Impress* on their Ships (to supply the great Loss and Destruction of the Men, on board our Squadrons) as rendered them unable to perform their Voyages.

His Reasoning therefore, on this Head, is reduced to one of these Points; either first, that the *naval Force*, sent to those Parts, was not sufficient to perform such *different Services*; or secondly, that our Admiral and Commanders did apprehend themselves to be *confined* or *embarrassed* by *some Cautions and Limitations*; or thirdly, that they either *neglected*, or did not *understand* their Duty; which would be such a Reflection upon the Skill, Courage and Integrity of those *excellent Officers*, as will not easily pass upon the World.

The *Pamphleteer* hath produced Part of one Letter from Admiral *Hosier*; in which he gives an Account, contrary to the general Opinion here till this Time, that the *Spaniards* had disembarked their Treasure, and sent it back to *Panama*, before he arrived at the *Bastimentos*; upon which this Writer observes, that he could not have taken any Thing but *empty Hulks*; and then seems to think himself very smart in asking, *whether such a*

Pledge

Pledge would have had much Influence on the Counſels of Spain? To which I reply, firſt, that this is nothing to the Purpoſe; becauſe it is plain, that the Admiral had no Power to ſeize the *Galleons*, in caſe they had not been unloaded; ſo that his Arrival could have no other Effect, than that of their own *Advice-Boat*, to make them *ſecure their Treaſure.* Secondly, I do not think it would have been ſuch bad Policy to have taken even the *empty Hulks*, or burnt them in the Port (ſo that the *Spaniards* could have made no farther Uſe of them) and to have ſailed immediately to *Vera Cruz*, and ſeized the *Flota*, inſtead of lying ſo long to watch *empty Hulks*, till our own Ships became *rotten*, and almoſt *empty Hulks* themſelves.

I could wiſh, for the farther Information and Satisfaction of the Publick, that the *Pamphleteer* had found it convenient to give us the Sight of all Admiral *Hoſier*'s *Letters*; for no doubt he muſt have ſent ſeveral, during his long and diſaſtrous Continuance on that Station; from whence perhaps we might have had ſome farther Light into this Affair, or collected at leaſt what his Opinion was of the Nature of his *Inſtructions*, and the Conduct of that *Expedition*. However, it is well known in what Manner he expreſſed himſelf, upon ſeveral Occaſions, both at *Jamaica*, and in Letters to his Friends in *England*.

I am ready to ſubſcribe, with the greateſt Pleaſure and Sincerity, to all the Encomiums, which

which this Writer makes on Sir *Charles Wager*; whom I know to be a Gentleman of the moſt amiable Character both in *publick* and *private Life*. I am confident that no Difficulties or Dangers could deter him from doing his Duty; that no Temptations could prevail upon him to betray his Truſt; and that he did not want the greateſt Skill and Abilities to execute it. I have the ſame good Opinion of Sir *John Jennings*, and other Commanders, who were ſent upon thoſe Services; and when the *Pamphleteer* was in his panegyrical Strain, I could wiſh that he had done Juſtice to their Characters; and likewiſe paid ſome ſmall Tribute of Gratitude to the Memory of thoſe *brave Officers*, who had the Misfortune to periſh (I was going to ſay, were ſacrificed) in the Service of their Country.——But they are dead, and have it not now in their Power to *juſtify themſelves*, or to *accuſe others*.

But to return——I do not find by the Orders given to Sir *Charles Wager*, the 22d of *December* 1726, that he was impowered to intercept any Ships with *Stores*, *Ammunition*, or *Proviſions*, bound for the *Spaniſh Camp*, then in Sight of *Gibraltar*, in order to beſiege it; nor inſtructed, even by the ſoft Endeavours of *Perſuaſion*, or otherwiſe, to get them or their Cargo into his Poſſeſſion, to diſable them from beginning Hoſtilities; notwithſtanding the ſame Orders directed him to reinforce the Garriſon of *Gibraltar*, which

was

was then going to be besieged, *by sending the Land Forces then on board Admiral* Hopson's *Squadron*, and, *in Case of Need, to give all the Relief and Assistance he was able to the said Garrison*; though I have been credibly informed, the *Spaniards* were permitted to pass by our Squadron, even under the Stern of the Admiral, and safely landed *Stores, Provisions, Ammunition* and other Necessaries for the Siege of that Place.

If this be true, as I am assured it is, I should be glad to know for what Reason his Instructions ran in that *soft Strain*; or why so much Complaisance was shewn to the *Spaniards*, upon the Occasion of such an undisguised Design against that important Fortress. I am the more desirous to know this, because I am sure it could not proceed from any want of Vigilance or Zeal in that *brave* and *excellent Officer*, who is a Man of too established a Character to suffer in any Body's Opinion, by the oblique and ungenerous Insinuation of this Writer, after all his Compliments, *that he was not attended with his former good Fortune*.

The *Pamphleteer*, having thus refuted the Objections against the *supposed Inactivity* of our Squadrons, by producing some Parts of the *Instructions* to the Commanders of them; and shewn, as he tells us, *that the Losses of our Merchants have not been owing to any Want of that Care, which the Government ought always to take for the Protection of our Trade*;

he

he proceeds, in the next Place, to give us ſome Account of *thoſe Captures*, which he ſays are not *near ſo conſiderable as they have been repreſented*; and having prefaced this Part likewiſe with a great many angry Reflections, he produces a Liſt of *twenty-ſix Ships*, which he would have us believe to be ALL, that we have really loſt.——His Addreſs in cooking up this Account is very remarkable.

1. We are told this is an exact Liſt of all ſuch Ships as have been taken by the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt Indies*, ſince the Concluſion of the *Treaty of Hanover*. But why ſhould he confine it thus to *Place* and *Time*? I mentioned, indeed, only *three Years paſt*, by Reaſon of the Frequency of the Captures during that Time; but if I had undertaken to give the Publick an Account of *all our Loſſes*, I ſhould certainly have begun my Account a great deal *farther back*; much leſs ſhould I have limited it to the *Weſt Indies*; ſince I preſume that Ships taken in the *Ocean* and other *Seas*, are as much Loſſes to our Merchants, as thoſe taken in *America*, and that they have the ſame Right to expect Reparation for them.

2. This is a Liſt of ſuch *Captures only, as have been, at any Time, conveyed to the Knowledge of the Government, either by the immediate Complaints of the Merchants concerned in thoſe Captures; their Repreſentations to the Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations; or the Accounts tranſmitted by his Majeſty's Miniſters*

nisters and Consuls abroad, which is what I suppose he means by the most *authentick Testimonies*. But is it to be inferred from hence, as he seems to do, that no more Losses have been sustained than what have been *thus formally complained of?* I grant, indeed, that no Merchant can expect *Reparation*, who does not give in the *Particulars* of his Losses; but it is well known that many of these *Sufferers* did not do this; which might proceed from different Causes. Several Merchants, who reside in our *Plantations* and *Settlements* abroad, might not have Opportunity to transmit the Particulars of their Losses, and authorize their Agents to make a regular Complaint; for, if I am not misinformed, some Complaints were actually brought in, after the Account was closed, and therefore not inserted in it. Others might neglect to do it, by despairing of Success; and thinking, perhaps, that the Prospect of Reparation would not answer the Trouble of complaining.

The Publick, I believe, will soon see a true Account of our Losses, by the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, both in the *West Indies* and in *other Seas*, from a proper *Period* of Time; which will more fully shew the *Fallacy* of this *partial List*, which ought to be resented with the utmost Indignation, as an Insult on the Misfortunes and Calamities of the *British Merchants*.

I am told that the *Pamphleteer* had a Design to oblige us likewise, in this Piece, with a *counter-*

a *Counter-List* of those Ships, which we have taken from the *Spaniards*, during the late Disturbances; and that this was actually printed, but afterwards *cancell'd* and *supprest'd*. I am sorry to hear that any Motives could induce so *impartial a Writer* to rob us of this Catalogue, which was not only very proper, but would no Doubt give great Satisfaction to the Publick.

The only Objection, says the *Pamphleteer*, *that remains to be answer'd upon this Point of the* Spanish Depredations, *is with Regard to* Letters of Marque and Reprisal; *by which the Traders might have been authorized to make themselves Reparation.* He acknowledges that the Merchants, *in the Situation we were then in, with Regard to* Spain, *had a Right, both by our own Law and that of Nations, to* demand *such Letters.* He then proceeds to justify the *Ministry* (which I hope wants no Justification) by shewing that *such Letters were not refused.* Those are his Words. But how does he shew it? Why, he gives us *two Instances* of Owners of Ships, who did apply for them, upon an Order publish'd in the *Gazette*, and were actually *refused*; and does not produce one Instance of any Man whatsoever, to whom they were *granted.*

He tells us indeed, by Way of Apology for this *Refusal, that the* preliminary Treaty *having been for some Time negotiating at* Paris, *his late Majesty thought proper to defer issuing*

these Commissions, till he should see the Success of that Negotiation. He adds that the *preliminary Articles* were sign'd at *Paris, the 20th* of *May*, and that *Draughts of Instructions to the Lords of the Admiralty, for granting Letters of Marque*, were sign'd by his late Majesty after the 21*st* of *April.* As therefore the *preliminary Treaty* had been *some Time* negotiating at *Paris*, the Question is whether it was not actually negotiating at the Time, when *this Order* was publish'd in the *Gazette*; and if it was, why was the *Order* publish'd at all? since it could only tend to putting the Merchants upon equipping Ships for this Service (as I am told several did at *Bristol*) to no purpose, and at a great Expence.

This therefore is such a *Justification* of the *Ministry*, as I am sure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, would be afraid to publish.

He proceeds, in the last Place, to expose the *Clamour*, that hath been raised against the *Negotiations* at *Soissons*, and the *Project* of Accommodation, which hath caused so much Disquiet.

I confess it gives me some Pleasure to find that I was right in my Conjecture, that if any such *Project* was really in Agitation, it would not bear the Name of a *Truce*; for lo! it is not call'd a *Truce*; it is a *provisional Treaty*; though, for my Part, I am not able to discover any Difference between them, unless it be in the *Sound*; for a *provisional Treaty* does

not

not seem to imply, any more than a *Truce*, a *final Determination* of all the Differences, which is so much wanted, but only a *Suspension* of them for a Time.

The *preliminary Treaty* was, properly speaking, a *provisional Treaty*, as it was to *provide fore something farther* at the Congress; but that the Negotiations at this Assembly should end in a *provisional Treaty only*, is not what we had Reason to expect from the *Assurances* so often given us.

I cannot forbear observing, in this Place, the *various Denominations*, under which *this Treaty* hath pass'd. At first, we were promised a *full*, *formal* and *establish'd Peace*; but soon after the Conclusion of the *last Session*, it was call'd, in the foreign Prints, a *Pacification*; and after that an *Idea of a Pacification*; then it was a *Truce*, and bore that Name in all Papers, foreign and domestick, for several Months together; at last, according to this Writer, it is neither a *Peace*, nor a *Pacification*, nor an *Idea of a Pacification*, nor a *Truce*, but a *provisional Treaty*.

Well! if a *Peace* could not be obtain'd, and a *Truce* would not go down; e'en let it be a *provisional Treaty*; or what else they please. I scorn to insist upon *Names* with these Gentlemen; but will examine the *Treaty* itself, as it is given us by the *Pamphleteer*.

It is somewhat strange that a *Writer*, who takes upon himself such an Air of *Authority*, should condescend to borrow his Materials from the *Post-Boy*; and more strange, that he should charge me with *affecting to call this Treaty a Truce*; when he cannot be ignorant that the *Post-Boy*, from which he quotes the *Articles*, as well as the *Dutch* Prints, from whence the *Post-Boy* translated them, and *all Papers*, for at least two Months before I wrote my *first Letter*, call'd it constantly by *that Name*.

When I first undertook this Examination of the pretended Project of a *Truce*, I treated it as *chimerical*, or the *Invention of ill designing Men*, and argued from the *Defects of the Articles*, that I could not believe them to be *genuine*. What therefore could induce *this Writer* to affirm, *that we have not so much as pretended to shew that* this Project is deficient, *in not providing for all those Points, that have been the Subject of the late Disputes between* Great-Britain *and foreign Powers*; when the whole Tenor of *that Letter* was to prove the *Defects* of it, by a very circumstantial Induction of Particulars?——But in this he not only advances a *Falshood*, but contradicts himself, as such Writers are apt to do; for in the very Page before this Assertion, *that we have not so much as pretended to shew that this Project is deficient*, he tells us, *that he shall make some Observations on the* OBJECTIONS, *which these Writers have made to it*.

Neither

Neither can it ſurely be foregot, that the Author of the *Britiſh Journal* repreſented *this Project*, and theſe *very Articles,* in the ſame Manner, as *chimerical,* and charged me with trumping them up, *in order to aſperſe the Miniſters with odious Deſigns.* He call'd them beſides *unintelligible Projects, dark Things* and *ill meant Reports, which bear no Sign of* Credibility, *aud do not deſerve the Name of* Intelligence; ſo that when *theſe Articles* had been given up, in this Manner, by a *Writer* (who, I was inform'd, had Acceſs to a *Perſon in Authority)* it would have been ridiculous to enter into a farther Detail of the *Defects* of them.——But now (according to the uſual *Inconſiſtency* of theſe Men, and their *deſultory* Method of Reaſoning) we are to unbelieve every Thing, which we were taught to believe about *ſix Weeks* ago. Theſe *unintelligible Projects,* which it was *Faction* at that Time even to mention, are now acknowledged to be really *genuine*; the whole Succeſs of our Negotiations is put upon them; and they are made the Baſis of our *future Settlement.*——Some farther Obſervations therefore are now become ſeaſonable and requiſite.

He tells us that, by *this Treaty, we obtain the plaineſt and moſt direct Acknowledgment and Confirmation of our Right to all our* Poſſeſſions, *and to all our Privileges in* Trade; *even thoſe, which had been* diſputed, *in Oppoſition to preceding Treaties.* But in what Manner

ner is this *Acknowledgment* and *Confirmation* obtained? The *Pamphleteer* proves it thus. *By the second Article, the Treaties of* Utrecht, Rastad *and* Baden, *the Treaty of the* Hague *in* 1717, *together with the* Quadruple Alliance, *and* ALL the Treaties *and* Conventions, *antecedent to* 1725, *the preliminary Articles, and the Convention signed at the* Pardo, *are made the Basis and Foundation of the* present Treaty; *and being expresly confirmed by it, without any Restriction of Time, whatever hath been stipulated in our Favour, in any of those Treaties and Conventions, receives a* new *and* perpetual Sanction *by* this.———Upon which I observe,

1. That I cannot comprehend how a *temporary Treaty*, which I take a *provisional Treaty* to be, can give a *perpetual Sanction* to any Thing.

2. Can a *Treaty* be properly called *perpetual* (though not *expresly limited to any Time)* or be said to give a *perpetual Sanction*, which does not finally adjust one Point in Dispute, but leaves them to the Determination of *Commissioners*, and consequently subject to future Debates?

3. Supposing this Treaty leaves us upon the Foot of former Treaties; is it not well known that the Sense of *some of those Treaties* hath been disputed; and may they not be disputed again, and occasion the same Disturbances?

I will instance only in the Case of *Gibraltar*. As the *second Article* of *this Treaty* is

to the very ſame Effect as the *ſecond Article* of the *preliminary Treaty*; (both of which relate to our *Poſſeſſions in general*; for *Gibraltar* is not particularly mentioned in either) I cannot ſee how we are better ſecured againſt the Pretenſions of *Spain* to *this Place*, than we were by the *preliminary Articles*; and is it not notorious that the *Spaniards* have inſiſted, and do yet inſiſt, that their Pretenſions, founded upon a *Promiſe* under the Hand of his late Majeſty, in the Year 1721, are confirmed by the ſaid *Preliminaries?* As they inſiſt therefore to have this *pretended Promiſe* cleared and adjuſted in the Congreſs in *their Favour*; ſo, as we maintain, on the other hand, that *theſe Pretenſions* to *Gibraltar*, however founded, are given up by this *ſecond Article*, it is equally incumbent upon us to inſiſt that the *Preliminaries* ſhould be ſo explained in *our Favour*, as to exclude all Doubts and Queſtions upon them for the future; for as this is the moſt important Point with Relation to *Great-Britain*, it is reaſonable that it ſhould be ſecured to us, in this Treaty, by a particular Article to explain it; as ſome other Things of leſs Conſequence have been, which ſeem to require no Explanation, and are as fully and clearly provided for, in the *ſecond Article* of this Treaty.

It muſt be farther obſerved, ſay the Pamphleteer, *that by this Article, and by the third and fifth, we are effectually ſecured from all the dangerous Engagements, contained in the*

publick and private Treaties of Vienna.—— *Those dangerous Engagements were,* as he tells us,

1. *That the trading Subjects of the* Emperor *should be treated in the Dominions of* Spain MORE FAVOURABLY *than those of* Great-Britain. But this appears to be false from the *Treaty* itself, which mentions only that they should be treated as the *most favoured Nations,* which *other Treaties* provide for *us,* who are to be always looked upon as *Gens amicissima;* and consequently whatever Privileges the *Emperor,* or any other Prince, may obtain for their Subjects, from his *Catholick Majesty,* must be conceded to us, at the same Time, by Virtue of those former Treaties. But how are we now secured from the dangerous Engagements of the *Vienna* Treaty, unless by a Declaration of his *Catholick Majesty,* that he never understood to grant, by the said Treaty of *Vienna,* any Privilege contrary to the Treaties confirmed with us, nor to give to the Subjects of his *Imperial Majesty* any greater Advantages than those, enjoyed by any other Nations? This is no more than what both the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* have from the Beginning declared. Yet as this hath been a laboured Point, and strenuously asserted by us, as well in Parliament as elsewhere, and made the Basis of the *Hanover* Treaty, as of the utmost Importance to this Kingdom; a *Declaration* only, in this Case, can be of no more Force and Virtue than it hath hitherto

been,

been, whilſt the *Vienna* Treaty ſubſiſts in every Part, as much as it did the firſt Day it was made.

2. *That the* Emperor, *in caſe his good Offices were ineffectual, would aſſiſt his* Catholick Majeſty *to recover* Gibraltar *by Force.*—— This likewiſe does not appear by the *Treaty*; nor did his *Imperial Majeſty*, as far as I ever heard, give the *Spaniards* the leaſt Aſſiſtance, when they actually beſieged that Fortreſs.

3. *That* Spain *would by Arms aſſiſt the* Emperor *in carrying on the* Oſtend Trade, *which is to be ſuſpended by this* Treaty. It muſt be owned indeed, that the *Dutch* are extremely happy, if this *Proviſion* content them, in having ſuch Advocates, or rather Champions, to ſupport their Quarrels; whilſt our Fleets and Armies, at the Expence of our Treaſure, and the Lives of ſo many brave Men, have procured them theſe Conceſſions, and they remain unactive in all Parts, reaping the Benefit of our Quarrels, and driving on the Trade of the whole World; and are at the ſame Time courted, to ſay no more, to eſpouſe their own Intereſt.

And here it muſt be repeated, that though it has been diſputed whether the *Oſtend* Charter is an Infraction of former Treaties; yet ſince it is made a *Point*, and inſiſted upon to be prejudicial to our Commerce, and we are bound by Treaties to ſupport the *Dutch* in theſe *Pretenſions*; it might ſeem perhaps abſolutely neceſſary to have this Affair finally adjuſted,

adjusted, so as never to break out again; or at least to be revived in any short Time; by which *Europe* may be engaged in the like Quarrel; in which *England* must bear the greatest Part, if she is not made the *only Principal*; and therefore it is not so absurd to expect that the Emperor should put an End to this Dispute by *revoking his Charter*.

But it is pretty extraordinary that, considering the great Interest we have in this Affair, (as it is affirmed) and the *Point* we have made of it, there should be no Notice taken of *us*, in the Article, which provides for its Suspension, nor so much as a Compliment made to us for our generous Interposion.

4. *And lastly*, (pray observe him!) *our* Apprehensions *were, that there* might be *Engagements in Favour of the* Pretender. —— Alas! how do the *Observations* fall short of that Spirit, which appeared in the *Enquiry*? There we see the Author rouzing up the Nation to a just Resentment of those *dangerous Engagements in Favour of the Pretender*. We see him affirming, with the greatest Confidence, that soon after the Publication of the *Vienna* Treaties of Peace and Commerce, they had *positive Intelligence, and Intelligence from more than one Person, and such as could be intirely depended on, that one express Article of this Alliance between the* Emperor *and* Spain *contained an Obligation in Favour of the Pretender*. We have not his Authority for it only, but the Assurance of a *certain Gentle-*

Gentleman in Parliament, that he *knew*, and was *absolutely convinced* of the Truth of this. We had the *Addresses* of the whole Kingdom justly inflamed on this Occasion. We had his Excellency Mr. *Isaac Leheup*'s vigorous Remonstrances at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, in the very Teeth of the Emperor, concurring in and affirming the same Charge. Nay, we had still much greater Authority, even Authority from the *Throne*; for, did not his late Majesty declare that * he had *certain* and *undoubted Intelligence* that it was resolved to attempt an *Invasion* of these Kingdoms, in Consequence of a *secret Article* to this Purpose? And, was not the *Imperial Minister* ordered to depart the Kingdom, in a very abrupt manner, for denying any such *Engagement* or *Design* in his Master's Name? And after all these repeated *Assurances*, after all these extraordinary Steps, are we fallen so low as to acknowledge that we had *Apprehensions only that there* might *be such Engagements?* ——If *this Scribbler* takes upon him to advance Facts of less Consequence, he may depart from them (as he generally does, when *Expedients* are wanting) without hurting any Body; but in Affairs of this high Nature, he ought not to meddle, let who will be his Instructor, without good Grounds and sufficient Authority.

* *Vide* his Speech at the Opening of the Session in 1727.

For

For my Part, I was always willing to believe (for the Honour of his *late Majesty* and the *British Nation*, as well as out of Regard to *Those*, who drew, or advised, or approved *that Speech)* that we had something more than *bare Apprehensions* to justify us in such *Declarations* and *extraordinary Proceedings*; for the *Honour of the Crown* is a Thing of a very sacred Nature, and ought not to be trifled with on any Occasion, or made an Instrument to serve *ministerial Purposes*.

King *James* the *first* observes very justly (in a *Speech* to his Parliament in the first Year of his Reign; which is, perhaps, the *best* he ever made) *that* Speeches *from the Throne should be* plain *and* sincere. By Sincerity, says he, *I mean that* Uprightness *and* Honesty, *which ought to be in a* King's *whole* Speeches *and* Actions; *that as far as a* King *is, in* Honour, *above his Subjects, so far should he strive, in* Sincerity, *to be above them all; and that his* Tongue *should be the true Messenger of his* Heart.

Yet *this King*, at the latter End of his Reign, was drawn in by *Buckingham* to make a false Representation of the *Spanish* Affair to his Parliament; which had its Effect so far, as to make *Buckingham* a little popular for the present, at his Majesty's Expence; but as soon as the People found themselves imposed upon, they gave no Credit to the *Assertions* and *Assurances* of this *lying Minister* any more.

Nay,

Nay, we have a much later and more remarkable Inſtance of the Effect of any ſuppoſed Endeavours to *proſtitute the Honour of the Crown*; for it cannot be forgot that a *certain Gentleman* thought fit to make it an *Article of Impeachment* againſt the late Earl of *Oxford*, that he had *corrupted the ſacred Fountain of Truth*, and put *Falſhoods* into the Mouth of Majeſty, in order *to obtain the Sanction of Parliament to his traiterous Proceedings*.

I hope this Digreſſion, upon ſo important a Point, will not be thought unſeaſonable. But I now return to the *proviſional Treaty*.

If it is really true, that the Emperor and the King of *Spain* did enter into *all*, or *any of theſe dangerous Engagements*, I could wiſh to ſee them *formally renounced* and *annihilated*; for I ſtill think *that a* ſolemn Ceſſation *of the Treaties of* Vienna *would ſecure theſe our moſt important Intereſts more effectually than is done by the fore-mentioned Articles*, that leave them upon the precarious Foot of *former Treaties*, which we have already found *ineffectual* to theſe Ends.

For, when different Interpretations have been put upon the ſame Treaties by different Powers; when Objections have been ſtarted on both Sides; when contrary Claims and Pretenſions have been made, and embroiled *Europe* for ſeveral Years; what other effectual Method can be uſed to ſecure us againſt the like Diſputes and Diſturbances for the future,

ture, than finally to adjuſt the Senſe of ſuch Treaties, and confirm the reſpective Rights, Privileges and Poſſeſſions of the Powers concerned, in the *plaineſt, moſt direct* and *explicit Manner?*

And if the Powers, with whom we are concerned, do really underſtand *theſe Articles* in the ſame Senſe, which the *Pamphleteer* hath put upon them, why ſhould they refuſe to make us eaſy by a *particular Explanation?* Or, if they do actually refuſe this, is there any Room to doubt, that they have ſome Reaſons for preferring *dark* and *ambiguous Terms?*

But it may be objected, ſays the Pamphleteer, *that I have miſpent my Time and Labour, in endeavouring to ſilence the Clamours, which have been raiſed againſt that particular Form of a Peace, which hath been the Object of our late Negotiations, ſince it does not appear that the King of* Spain *is diſpoſed to accept even of theſe Terms.* Why truly that is a very material Objection, and may ariſe perhaps from a determined Reſolution of his *Catholick Majeſty* not to come to any Terms with us, after what hath *paſſed,* without obtaining his *favourite Ends.*

He tell us indeed but two Lines before, in his uſual ſelf-contradicting Stile, *that none of the Powers concerned have hitherto given juſt Cauſe to conclude that they will reject it.* Now, methinks, where there is an *apparent Diſpoſition not to accept it,* there is *ſome Cauſe to con-*

clude

clude that they will reject it; but whatever Reaſons there may be againſt it *abroad*, I am ſure there are many at *home*.

It is, at beſt, by his own Confeſſion, only a *Plan* or a *Project*, which is not yet accepted. But let us ſuppoſe it accepted, for Argument ſake. Nay, let us go farther, and, for Argument ſake likewiſe, ſuppoſe it to be a *good one*; the Queſtion will ſtill return, whether we have taken the *ſhorteſt*, the *leaſt dangerous*, or the *leaſt expenſive* Methods to accompliſh it. But to glory in *Meaſures*, which have not *ſucceeded*, whether commendable or not, and have only a *bare Probability of Succeſs*, is certainly very extraordinary.

Laſtly, let us examine this Affair with reſpect to the Time we have been about it. The *Pamphleteer* indeed ſays, and ſeems to triumph upon it, that this Progreſs *towards the Eſtabliſhment of a general Peace hath been made in a few Months, after the Opening of the Congreſs*. But how much *Time*, as well as *Money*, did we ſpend in *Expeditions*, *Embaſſies*, *Negotiations*, *Preliminaries* and *Ratifications*, before the *Congreſs was opened?* Nay, though we date the preſent Diſturbances but *three Years* back, it is certain that we have not been in a State of *perfect Amity*, and *free Commerce* with *Spain* for above theſe *ſeven Years* paſt, but by the great Sagacity and Penetration of *certain Gentlemen* (to ſay nothing of *ſecret Service-Money)* we have at laſt, according to *this Writer*, ſome

Hopes

Hopes of being, one Time or another, in almoſt as good a Condition as we were in, before our Affairs were thus embroiled.

This puts me in mind of Sir *Epicure Mammon*, in the *Alchymiſt*; who, when he had ſpent his *whole Eſtate* in ſearch of the *Philoſopher's Stone*, was comforted after all his *Coſt*, though diſappointed of his *main End*, with the Hopes of getting a *little ſomething to cure the Itch*.

He tells us, at the Concluſion, *that this Nation never acted a* Part *more ſuitable to its* Dignity *and* Character; and that *to the Firmneſs* and *Fidelity of our Allies*, and to *theſe Meaſures we owe our preſent Tranquillity*. I ſhall ſay nothing of that *glorious Part*, which we have been lately acting; nor of the *Firmneſs* and *Fidelity* of our *Allies*. I neither know what they *engaged to do*, nor what *they have actually done for us*. But to boaſt of the *preſent Tranquillity*, when we are at beſt only in a State of *political Purgatory* between *Peace* and *War*; when our *Ships* are every Week taken, as in Time of *War*; when we are at all the *Expences*, and under almoſt all the *Inconveniencies* of a *War*; to talk and boaſt of *Tranquillity*, I ſay, at ſuch a Time, muſt either be an egregious Banter on the *Miniſtry*, or an Inſult on the *Nation*; and let the *Pamphleteer* take his Choice.

I have but one Thing more to mention, before I conclude; which is, that the Author of this wretched Pamphlet hath the Inſolence

to make the *regal Character* ſubſervient to his Deſigns. Whatever *Meaſures*, or whatever *Conduct* he finds it neceſſary to approve, are the *King's Meaſures*, and the *King's Conduct*. This is a mean Artifice, which hath been conſtantly practiſed of late by theſe Men, when other Arguments are wanting. But I hope it will not put a Stop to your Enquiries; for every *Engliſhman* hath a Right, by our Laws, to judge and debate theſe Affairs; and I am ſure *his Majeſty* will abhor the Thoughts of abridging this Liberty, though *weak* and *wicked Men* endeavour to ſcreen themſelves under the Protection of his *ſacred Name*.

I am, SIR, *&c.*

W. RALEIGH.

An ANSWER *to the* Defence *of the* Enquiry *into the* Reaſons *of the* Conduct of GREAT BRITAIN, *&c.* *In a* Letter *to* CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq*;

SIR,

AS ſoon as I heard that the Author of the * *Enquiry* had condeſcended to take Notice of a LETTER, which you thought

* The following was the Motto to this Anſwer to the *Defence*, &c. viz. *Nor can we conceive a more* abject Servility of Conduct, *than for a People, ſo long famed for* Commerce,

thought fit to publiſh in your *Journal* of the 4th of *January* laſt, I reſolved to make my Acknowledgments to him for ſo great an Honour, and to deſire you to convey them into the World. This Duty ſhould have been diſcharged immediately, if I had not been diverted from it by Avocations of a very different Nature; and if I had not obſerved, on a Review of the preſent Diſpoſitions, that there was no Reaſon in force to make a very ſpeedy Reply neceſſary. What I am going to ſay now will, I think, juſtify me for what I have ſaid already, in the Opinion of Mankind; and at leaſt in the ſecret Thoughts even of the *Author* and *Defender* of the *Enquiry*; and as this Effect of the little additional Trouble I am about to give myſelf is the principal, nay, the ſole good one, which I dare expect, we are in Time for that, and by Conſequence I ſhall not loſe my Labour by my Delay.

This *Author* hath thrown ſeveral Matters in my Way, to which it is proper I ſhould

Commerce *and* Bravery, *to ſee their* darling Good, *and their* peculiar Glory, *the Pledge of their* Liberty, *and Life of all their* Property, *juſt going to be forcibly and unrighteouſly torn from them*; *and tamely to look on without* one Struggle *for ſo great a Bleſſing, or* one hearty Effort *againſt the* Invaders *of it. What can we become, if we give our Conſent to ſuch Ruin by our own* ſupine Indolence *and* Inſenſibility; *and ſuffer ourſelves to be ſtript of our boaſted* Strength *and* Ornament *at once*; *but a Nation, the* moſt deſpicable *of all Nations under Heaven*; *expoſed to the* Contempt *and* Inſults *of the World about us here* below, *and rendered utterly unworthy, by our own Conduct, of the Care of Providence* above *us?* ENQUIRY, *Page* 86.

ſay

say something before I enter into that, which is strictly the Subject of our present Dispute.

He declares upon this Occasion, with all *possible Seriousness*, that *he hath not writ, or dictated, or advanced; or, directly or indirectly, had the least Part in the writing or publishing any* Paper, *which hath appeared in the World, in any Form, from the Time of writing the* Enquiry, *and from some Time before that, to the 20th of* January 1728-9. He makes this Declaration, *and for that Space of Time, particularly with a View to* Papers *printed in the* London Journal; *in all which he hath been utterly unconcerned either directly or indirectly.*

Far be it from me to question the Truth of so solemn a *Declaration*. I give entire Credit to it; and I freely own that he hath Reason to complain of *Me* for insinuating, at least, that he had a Hand in the *London Journals*. The little Share I have had in the *Paper War* hath not given me many Opportunities of knowing the *Combatants*; and the Productions, on *one Side*, gave me little Curiosity to enquire after the Authors of them. But I found it universally affirmed, and no where contradicted, that *this Gentleman* had a Hand in the *Weekly Papers* just mentioned. The Persons, who recommended *these Papers*, countenanced the Opinion; and were glad, perhaps, that so *considerable a Name* should give them an *Authority*, which might supply whatever else they wanted. Nay, I

found amongſt thoſe, who were acquainted with *this Author*, and who profeſs a particular Regard for him, ſome, who were *angry* at him on this very Account; ſome, who were *ſorry* for him; but none, who doubted the Truth of the Fact. What may have given Occaſion to ſo general a Concurrence, he can beſt tell. I urge theſe Circumſtances only to ſhew, how I was led into an Error. It was indeed *Error*, not *Malice*. But ſtill I think myſelf obliged to take this Occaſion of aſking his Pardon; and I do it *with all poſſible Seriouſneſs*, as he made his *Declaration*, and from the Bottom of my Heart; becauſe I am as much convinced, that he neither *abetted*, *encouraged*, nor *paid* the Authors of *theſe Papers*, as I am that he was not himſelf the *Author* of them.

It cannot be imputed to me, that I have any Thing to anſwer for, on Account of the *perſonal Severities*, which *this Author*, in a very pathetick Manner, complains of. We muſt acknowledge, and we ought to lament, that our *publick Papers* have abounded in *Scurrility*. One would be tempted to imagine, that the *Saturnalia* were held all the Year round in *Britain*; for thoſe, who can do nothing but *rail*, have had their Encouragements to *write*; and I am perſuaded that *this Gentleman*'s Candour will oblige him to confeſs, that nothing but a thorough *Contempt* hinders Complaints from being made againſt the Writers of his *own Side*, much better

grounded and ſupported by much ſtronger Inſtances, than he can produce againſt the Writers of the *oppoſite Side*, in his *own*, or in any *other Caſe*. For my Part, I ſhould be extremely ſorry to have it ſaid of me, with Truth, that I had *railed* at any Author, inſtead of anſwering, or even in anſwering his Book; and leſs than any would I be guilty of this Crime, for ſuch it is, towards *one*, who defends, with ſo much Uniformity of Conduct, the *Liberty of the Preſs*, that *Corner-Stone* of *publick Liberty*. He, who will ſupport *what hurts himſelf, becauſe he thinks it the Support of the whole Liberty we enjoy*, ſhall meet with nothing from me, but that, which he deſerves from all Mankind, the utmoſt Reſpect, whenever he leaves me the Power of ſhewing it, conſiſtently with the Regard I owe to *Truth* and to my own *neceſſary Defence*.

He will not, I hope, think it inconſiſtent with this Reſpect for his *Perſon*, or with that, which I have for *ſome of his Writings*, if I cannot bring myſelf up to have the ſame for his *Enquiry into the Reaſons of the Conduct of* Great-Britain; or for his *Defence of this Enquiry*. He appears to have a paternal Fondneſs for the *firſt* of theſe Treatiſes, which amounts even to a *Partiality*; the more ſurprizing, becauſe it is found in *one*, who can boaſt ſo *numerous* and ſo *fair* an *Offſpring*. I ſhould not have attempted to draw him out of an Error, which he ſeems to indulge with

ſo great a Satisfaction, if he had not made it neceſſary for me. Since he hath done ſo, I will offer ſome Obſervations on the *Enquiry* itſelf, before I come to the *Defence*.

The Circumſtance, upon which he ſeems to triumph a little, (that the *Enquiry* was not *anſwered*) he will permit me to ſay is often a very equivocal Proof of the *Merit* of a Book. The ſame *Mouths*, it ſeems, *which pronounced the* Enquiry *to be a* mean and deſpicable Performance, *have more than once expreſſed in Print their earneſt Deſire that ſome* able Hand *would anſwer it*. From what Mouths he took this, I know not. But ſurely the Teſtimony of thoſe, who deſired ſome *able Hand* would anſwer what they judged to be *mean* and *deſpicable*, is an odd Teſtimony for him to quote; ſince it could proceed from nothing but a Deſign to *ridicule* him.

Though the *Enquiry* was not anſwered in *Form*, yet I believe that ſeveral, perhaps all the Points, on which his Syſtem leaned, were occaſionally examined, and ſufficiently refuted by you, Mr. D'ANVERS, and by others. If no more was done, I take the Reaſon to have been plainly this. The miniſterial Air of *Authority* and *Information*, aſſumed in it, made even thoſe, on whom this Air did not impoſe, judge that it was prudent to wait till *Time* and *Events* ſhould open the Scene a little more; and as the Scene opened, they perceived that the *Enquiry* was daily anſwered, in the moſt effectual Manner, to their

Hands;

Hands; ſo that the Author might have waited all his Life, perhaps, for *ſomething more of this Sort*, if he had not thought fit to ſeize an Opportunity of *defending* it, not more worthy his Notice, than ſeveral others before given him; and if my Reſpect for him, and my Deſire to ſtand fair in his Opinion, had not determined me to make him a *Reply*.

As to the *Effect* of the *Enquiry*, which he thinks ſo conſiderable, that it *awakened Multitudes out of a dull and languid State into Life and Vigour; and that it was not found to procure Slumbers either to thoſe, who liked it, or to thoſe, who diſliked it*; I, who was moſt certainly one of thoſe, who either *liked* or *diſliked* it, can affirm with the greateſt Truth, that it did not *procure me Slumbers*, it did not *keep me awake*. Some of the *Facts*, advanced in it, were ſtrange and ſurprizing; but then they were deſtitute of any *Proof*, except the ſtrong Affirmations of the *Author*, and Collections of *Circumſtances* ſo extremely *trivial*, that they became *burleſque*, as ſoon as they were ſeriouſly apply'd. A bare Expoſition of any real Danger from the *Pretender* would have *waked Multitudes into Life and Vigour*, though the *Enquiry* had never been written. But I apprehend that ſo many Pages ſpent on *Wharton*'s Rambles, *Ripperda*'s Chit-chat, Hear-ſays of what *one great Man* writ concerning what *another great Man* ſaid, *three Muſcovite Ships* coming to *Spain*, *Embarkations*, which were never made, and

 Armies,

Armies, which were never aſſembled, could have no other Effect, than to compoſe Multitudes into *perfect Tranquility*, and to confirm the Opinion of their *Security* on *this Head*. Any Surmiſes of an Engagement, on the *Emperor's* Part, to aſſiſt *Spain* in the Recovery of *Gibraltar* by Force, could provoke no Indignation (whatever elſe it might provoke) nor cauſe any Alarm. We knew *Gibraltar* to be impregnable to the *Spaniards*, before *Ripperda* declared it to be ſo; and what Aſſiſtance the *Emperor* could give them towards reducing this Place, unleſs he had in his Service ſome of Mr. WALLER's *winged Troops* and *Pegaſean Horſe*, we were not able to diſcover. As to the *Emperor's* real Engagement in *this Article* towards *Spain*, and as to the Engagements of *Spain* towards the *Emperor*, on the *Article* of trading to the *Weſt-Indies*, we ſoon knew what they were; and with this Knowledge our Alarm ceaſed. What was ſaid in the long Diſſertations, about the *Oſtend Company*, cauſed likewiſe little or no Emotion in us. Our Intereſt was plainly not that of *Principals*, till the *Dutch* had the Addreſs to make us ſo, by their Acceſſion to the *Treaty of Hanover*; and the Conduct of our own Court, who beheld, with ſo much *Indifference*, the Riſe and Progreſs of *this Company*, had taught us to be *indifferent* about it. Theſe Conſiderations and many others, which I omit, hindered the *Enquiry* from having the *Effect*, which *this Gentleman's* paternal

paternal Fondneſs makes him believe it had. The Part, if I may have Leave to ſay ſo, was *over-acted*. But ſtill I ſee no Reaſon that he has to be concerned, becauſe one Way or other the *End* of writing it was anſwered. The *Enquiry* was the *Book of a Day*, like ſome little Animals on the Banks of the River *Hypanis*, which came to Life in the Morning, fulfilled all the Ends of their Creation, and died before Night.

There is a Point, on which the *Author* and *Defender* of the *Enquiry* values himſelf and his Book very much; I mean the ſtrict Regard to *Truth*, which he aſſures us he obſerved in writing. Now though I am ready to agree that *this Author* has always a great Regard to *Truth*, yet I affirm that I could write a Book as big as the *Enquiry*, filled with nothing but Demonſtrations of his *Errors* in Matters of Fact. Too much Confidence in the Informations he received, too much Haſte in compoſing, and above all that Fire, which is apt to over-heat the Imagination of *polemical Writers*, muſt have cauſed theſe Errors. It is impoſſible to account any other Way, how a Gentleman of *nice Honour, remarkable Sincerity*, and even *exemplary Piety*, inſtead of making his *Propoſitions* conſtantly the Reſult of the *Evidence* he found, upon a thorough Examination, true, ſhould, thro' a whole Book, have conſtantly ſuited his *Evidence* to a *certain Set of Propoſitions*; and how *Facts* and *Dates*, as *ſtubborn Things* as they

they are in the Hands of *other Men*, ſhould grow ſoft as Wax under *his Touch*.

But it is not my Deſign to enter into a Diſquiſition of this Sort. It would ſhew ill Nature, which I hope I have not; and it would be now of no Uſe whatever. I muſt however *defend myſelf*, as unwilling as I am to *offend him*; and therefore ſince he contradicts what I ſaid, *viz*. that *he had been given up in every material Article of the* Enquiry; I think myſelf obliged to prove it. *How eaſy are ſuch Words as theſe*, ſays our Author, *but how hard to ſupport them?* Now I do aſſure him that *theſe Words*, as far as they may be thought *harſh* or *impolite*, will at no Time fall eaſily from my Tongue or Pen; but he will find that it is eaſy for me, upon this Occaſion, to *ſupport* them. I will confine myſelf to the *four great Points* of Danger, ariſing from the *Vienna Treaties*, and mentioned already. Let us ſee whether he has been *given up* in them or not.

According to the *Enquiry*, we were in Danger of loſing not only our *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India Trade*, but many other Branches of the *Britiſh* Trade, by the Privileges *ſuppoſed* to be granted to the *Emperor's* Subjects, and from the Enjoyment of which Privileges we are debarred. Nay, it was very ſtrongly inſinuated that even the Ruin of *Britain* was involved in this Point. If this had been the Caſe, and if the Treaty of *Vienna* had thus ſettled the Matter, there would have been Oc-

casion for all the Outcries, which we meet with in the *Enquiry*, and for still more. But our most knowing Merchants *gave up this Point*, as soon as they read and considered the several Clauses; and it is notorious that the contracting Powers declared, as soon as they heard of the Objection, that their Meaning was not to give these Privileges to the *Imperial* Subjects above other Nations; and that they would *explain* the Text accordingly, if any *Ambiguity* made it necessary. But in Truth there was little or no *Ambiguity* in the Matter, except what the Representations of it occasioned; for without entering any deeper into it, let us observe that the *Answers*, which this Author gives to the *Objection*, which he was forced, from the Notoriety of the Thing, to make to himself, are *evasive* and *fallacious*; for since the same Liberty of entering the *Spanish* Ports in the *West-Indies*, in case of Distress by *bad Weather*, or for *Refreshment*, is granted to us by the *Treaty* of 1670, as is granted to the *Imperial* Subjects by the *Treaty* of *Vienna*, does it follow that more is granted to *them* than to *Us*; because the *Liberty* granted to us hath *ceased* for many Years? If we have not made use of the *Liberty*, the Fact affirmed is nothing to the Purpose. If we have been denied it, such Denial is an Infraction of the *Treaty* of 1670, and proves that we have had Injustice done us by the Practice of the *Spaniards*; but doth not help to prove that we have had any done us by

their

their Conceſſions to the *Emperor*, with *whom* they may keep this *Article*, perhaps, as little as they have done with *us*; and *who* is not likely to have the ſame Means of obliging them to it as *we* have in our Power, whenever we pleaſe to employ them.

How the *eighth Article* of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* came to be quoted, on this Occaſion, is to me marvellous. That Article is made general to *all Nations*; but was particularly directed againſt the *French*; who, even at that Time, continued to obtain Licences to ſend Ships to trade in the *South Sea*, as they had done all the War. But the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* confirms the *Treaty* of 1670; and the Stipulation, that *no Licence, or any Permiſſion at all ſhall, at any Time, be given to the* French, *or any other Nation whatſoever* ——*to ſail, traffick,* &c. *to the Dominions ſubject to the Crown of* Spain *in* America, cannot ſurely be conſtrued to deprive *us* of the Right of going into *thoſe Parts*, in the Caſes allowed by the *Treaty* of 1670. This ſeems ſo clear, that I may pronounce the *Gentleman given up, on this Head*, by the moſt knowing Merchants, and by every Man, who can read and underſtand what he reads.

But I may go farther; for it appears even from the 5th Article of the *proviſional Treaty* itſelf, (which is ſaid to ſecure us from the *dangerous Engagements* contained in the *Treaties* of *Vienna*, with relation to *Trade)* that the King of *Spain never underſtood to grant,*

by

by the ſaid Treaty, any Privileges contrary to the Treaties confirmed above; nor to give to his Imperial Majeſty *any greater Advantages than thoſe enjoyed by* other Nations *in their Commerce; his* Imperial Majeſty *adopting for his Subjects the above-mentioned Declaration, made in the Name of his* Catholick Majeſty. And it is very obſervable that *this Article* ſeems to be inſerted in the *Treaty*, merely upon the *Surmiſes* of the Miniſters of *France, Great-Britain*, and *Holland*, who have PRETENDED (as it is ſaid in the *Introduction* to it) *that in the Treaty of* Commerce, *concluded at* Vienna, *on the 1ſt of* May, 1725—*there were divers Clauſes, which claſhed with Articles of ſeveral Treaties of* Commerce, *anterior to the Year* 1725, *&c.*

If therefore the *natural Senſe* of the *Vienna Treaty* itſelf, as well as the *Declaration* of their *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majeſties, as ſoon as the *Objection* was firſt ſtarted, and their Offer to remove any *ſuppoſed Ambiguity* in *this Article* of the *Vienna Treaty*, were not ſufficient to ſatisfy us; what farther Satisfaction ſhall we receive by the *proviſional Treaty*, in caſe it ſhould be accepted, which contains only the very *ſame Declaration?*—But this hath been ſufficiently explained already by your Correſpondent *Raleigh*.

As to the *Oſtend* Trade, he thinks that I myſelf cannot be againſt him, *unleſs in the Degree of the Importance of it*. Now this is the

the very Point, upon which he must be *given up*, in this Case, if he is *given up* at all. I never heard that any Man was wild enough to affirm that the Trade, carried on from *Ostend*, was of *no Consequence whatever to us*. But the Question is, whether *that Trade* be of that *Degree of Importance* to us, which he represents. He asks, *who of those I oppose hath declared against him in this?* I answer, the very Person I quoted in the Passage he had before his Eyes, when he asked this Question. He says, in the *Enquiry*, that *our* East *and* West-India *Trade will be ruined by the* Ostend Company; that *they are so already, in some Degree*; that *the Contagion will spread to other Branches*; in short, that *this Trade will carry Riches, Strength, and naval Power from* Us *to the* Spanish Netherlands. What says *Publicola? The* Ostend Trade, *about which such a Noise hath been made* (he must mean by the *Enquirer*, since the *Enquirer* made more Noise about it than all the other Writers put together) *was more the Concern of our Neighbours, both by Treaty and Interest, than our own.* I appeal now, in my Turn, and I appeal to the *Enquirer* himself. Is not *one* of these Representations directly contrary to the *other?* Does not *Publicola* diminish the Consequences of the *Ostend Trade* to us, and treat it even lightly? Does not *he* magnify it in the strongest Terms, and make our *All* depend on the Obstruction of it? Does

Does not *Publicola*, an Author whom I oppofe, *give him up?*

We are now come to the Danger, much infifted upon in the *Enquiry* *, of *having* Gibraltar *wrefted out of our Hands* by Force, *(if it be poffible) unlefs we will bafely yield it up*; and this Danger is grounded on a fuppofed † *mutual Engagement* between the *Emperor* and King of *Spain*, contained in a *fecret offenfive Treaty*. The Writer of the *Enquiry* confeffes, that the *Imperial Refident* read to fome of our *Minifters the Words, which he faid were the Contents of the* Article, *which his Mafter had entered into, relating to* Gibraltar; *the which implied, that his Mafter had engaged to ufe his good Offices for the Reftitution of* Gibraltar; Now from hence, becaufe this *Refident* read all that related to *this Point*, and did not fhew the *whole Treaty* to us, any more than we thought ourfelves obliged to fhew to the *Imperial Minifters* the *Treaties* of 1721; (which we made at *Madrid* with *one* of the Parties, between whom we were at that Time *Mediators*, in the Congrefs at *Cambray*;) from hence, I fay, the *Writer* I am anfwering concludes, that the Truth of what he imputes to the *Emperor* ftands confirmed; but this *Offenfive Alliance* hath appeared hitherto no where, except in *his Writings*; and the *Article* relating to *Gibraltar*, in the *defenfive Alliance* between the *Emperor* and King of *Spain*, is furely as

* Page 57. † 34, 35.

contrary

contrary as possible to all that he hath advanced. By *that Article* it appears, that the *Spaniards* affirmed a *Promise* on our Part to restore *Gibraltar.* In Consideration of *this Promise*, the *Emperor* declares he will not *oppose* this Restitution, *if it be made amicably; that if it be necessary, he will employ his* good Offices, *and even his* Mediation, *if the Parties desire it.* Till therefore the *Enquirer* can shew *another Article* between the contracting Powers in the *Vienna Treaties*, about *Gibraltar*, this must be reputed the *sole Article* of that Kind, and by Consequence a flat Contradiction to all that he hath said on this Occasion; so that if his *own Side* do not *give him up* in this Case, both *they* and *he* will be *given up*, I fear, in the Opinion of every other Man in *Europe*; to which I shall add (since the Observation lies fairly in my Way) that every Man, who knows any Thing of the Interest of *Europe*, knows it as much the Interest of the *Emperor*, that *Britain* should keep *Gibraltar*, as it is the Interest of *one* of our *Allies*, that we should lose the Possession of *this Place*; and yet we have been taught, by some *profound Statesmen*, to apprehend the *Emperor*'s Efforts to take it from us, and to rely on the Assistance of *France* to preserve it to us.

I have reserved to the last the greatest of all those *Dangers*, which are represented in the *Enquiry*: and that is the Danger of the *Pretender*.

It is there affirmed,* *that one express Article of the Alliance, between the* Emperor *and* Spain, *contained an Obligation in Favour of the* Pretender, *and a Stipulation to make the Attempt for him in* England, *before opening the War in any other Parts.* Nay, *this Author* was so well informed of all these Proceedings, that he gives us the particular Engagements, which the *Pretender*, in return, took towards the *Emperor* and *Spain*. All these Things are asserted in the strongest Manner, as founded on *positive Intelligence*; on *Intelligence from more than one Person*; on *undoubted Intelligence, and such as could be entirely depended on.* Now I suspect that the *Enquirer* would think me very impertinent, if I should seem to question the *Authority* of his Intelligence; and yet I verily believe, that I have better Reasons to do so, than he had to *depend* upon it, when he writ the Words I have quoted. But we will wave saying any Thing more on a Point, on which it is proper for *neither* of us to *speak plain.* His *good Opinion* of the *Intelligence* communicated to him will not give it the Stamp of *Infallibility*; nor will my *bad Opinion* destroy its *Credit*. The World will therefore judge, or rather has judged, of the Validity of what he does not explain, by the Force or Weakness of the *other Circumstances*, which he enlarges upon; and by observing whether

* Page 52.

the Courſe of *Events* hath juſtified this boaſted Intelligence or not. I have juſt mentioned above the chief of *theſe Circumſtances*; and notwithſtanding the great Reſpect I have for *this Author*, nothing ſhall oblige me to treat them more ſeriouſly. I will ſhew him however, that the Courſe of *Events* hath deſtroyed all the *Uſe* he pretended to make of theſe *Circumſtances*, and that it has contradicted, inſtead of confirmed his Intelligence. He ſays, * that *the vigorous Reſolutions taken, and the Preparations and Diſpoſitions made by* Great-Britain, *ſuſpended the Execution of this Deſign. The* Spaniards *found themſelves obliged to ſend Part of their Ships from* Cadiz *and St.* Andero *to the* Weſt-Indies; *and the* Muſcovite *Ships returned home.*——Very well! The Event does not yet juſtify the *Intelligence*; but that is accounted for. The Execution of the Deſign was *ſuſpended for the preſent*. The *Deſign* went on then; and the Preparations for an *Invaſion* by Conſequence. It muſt have been ſo; for we find in the *Enquiry* †, that the *Deſign thus ſuſpended was afterwards prevented by the Appearance of a* Britiſh *Fleet on the* Spaniſh *Coaſt*. Now let me deſire you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, to take the Trouble of turning to Sir *John Jennings*'s Letter, dated *Auguſt* 10, 1726, and made publick here; in which you will find the *Spaniards* ſo little prepared to *invade*

* Page 51. † 97.

us, that when he came on their Coaſt, they ſeemed to be in the greateſt Conſternation; that all the Troops they could aſſemble did not exceed three thouſand Men; and that theſe were in very bad Condition.

I aſk now, is the *Intelligence* of the *Enquirer*, upon this Head, *ſupported* by any Thing but his own Affirmation? Is it not contradicted by the whole Courſe of Events? Does there appear the leaſt Reaſon to believe that he had a ſure Foundation to build upon, when he made ſuch bold Aſſertions, and of ſuch a Nature? The *ſecret offenſive Treaty*, which he talks ſo much of, has never appeared, nor any Footſteps of it; and many People are apt to believe that it never exiſted any where but in *ſome People's luxuriant Fancy*. The *ſeveral Treaties* made at *Vienna* in 1725, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, have been long publick; and when it was obſerved, *ſome where or other*, that nothing was contained in them like what the *Enquirer* had aſſerted, the *Enquirer* was *given up*. He was ſaid to be *miſtaken*. The *Article*, in favour of the *Pretender*, was ſaid to be in ſome *other Treaty*; and afterwards in no *formal Treaty*. It was not a *Treaty*. It was an *Engagement*. This may be called, by ſome ill-bred People, *ſhuffling*; but ſure I am that it muſt paſs for a direct *giving up* of *this Author*; who will find, perhaps, if he pleaſes to enquire into the Particulars of what paſſed on this Occaſion, that the Perſon, who *gave*

him thus up, had ſome Share *in ſetting him to work.*

After this, it is hardly worth Notice, that the Author of the *Obſervations on the Conduct of* Great-Britain has *given him up* likewiſe; for the utmoſt, which this *Writer* ventures to ſay, when he comes to ſpeak of *this Engagement*, aſſerted by the *Enquirer* to be contained in an Article of a *Treaty*, is this; *Our Apprehenſions were, that there might be Engagements in favour of the* Pretender. Let the *Enquirer* conſider again, whether I was in the wrong to advance, that he had been *given up*, even by his *own Side.*

Having juſtified what I preſumed to advance, concerning the *Enquiry*, I come now to the *Defence* of it.

The Gentleman begins this *Defence* by *ſtating the Caſe* (ſo he calls it) *as he did in the Enquiry*; and then he proceeds to *take Notice of what hath followed ſince the Date of that Book*; that is to ſay, he repreſents the Matter in Diſpute, juſt as it ſuits his Purpoſe; leaving out many Things neceſſary to ſet the Whole in a true Light; aſſerting ſome Things, which have been never proved; and others, which I think never can be proved; making what Inſinuations, drawing what Concluſions he thinks fit; and, in a Word, begging the Queſtion in almoſt every Line. It is hard to conceive for what Purpoſe this is done. The Reaſon given, I am ſure, is not a good one; ſince the *principal Facts and Reaſonings*,

ings, upon which the Strength of all that can be ſaid muſt be founded, are ſo far from ſeeming to be forgot, that they ſeem to be the only Things *remembered,* or thought of at this Time, and are the common Topicks of almoſt every Converſation. There muſt therefore be ſome *other Reaſon* for this Method of Proceeding; and I can gueſs but *one.* This *Method* may perhaps be thought proper to catch unwary Readers, and to give a particular Biaſs to their Minds, with which they are to read and to judge of all that follows. I could make uſe of the *ſame Art*; and, without being at much Pains, draw up a *State of the Caſe* very contrary to that, which he hath drawn, and at leaſt as *plauſible.* But I think the Proceeding too unfair to copy after it. I have indeed no Reaſon to do ſo; ſince, very indifferent to all other Conſiderations, I ſeek nothing in this Diſpute, but the Diſcovery of the Truth; and therefore, as I will receive nothing but what is ſupported by the Evidence of *Fact,* and the Force of *Argument,* ſo I will not preſume to attempt impoſing any Thing, void of *both,* upon others. Beſides, *this Gentleman* undertakes to *conſider what I have advanced, either againſt any Thing, in which he can be ſuppoſed to be concerned; or upon any Subject of Debate,* (of *this Debate* he means) *which appears to him to be of Importance*; ſo that if I am able to refute all that he objects to me, in the *Defence of this Enquiry,* I refute all Objections,

 of

of any *Importance*, to what I have ſaid in my *former Letter* to you; and then I imagine that his *State of the Caſe* will do him no great Honour, and his Cauſe little good.

The firſt Point, on which I am attacked by the *Defender* of the *Enquiry* is, on *the Turn* (ſo he calls it) which I have given *to the very Beginning of this whole Scene.* He means the *Vienna Alliance.*

Let us ſee therefore whether it is *He* or *I*, (for *one* of us may, perhaps, have done ſo) who hath endeavoured, in treating this Subject, to turn every Thing to the Service of ſome *other Cauſe* than that of *Truth.*

In the *Enquiry*, he repreſented the *Vienna Alliance*, as to the Manner, and as to the Matter of it, to be one of the moſt aſtoniſhing *Phænomena*, which ever appeared in the political World. What Surprize to ſee two Princes, Rivals almoſt from their Infancy, two *Powers, that could hardly be kept within the Bounds of common Decency towards one another, privately running into one another's Arms*, as he expreſſes himſelf? What a Surprize to ſee the *Emperor* abandon the *Mediation* of *Great-Britain* and *France*; to the *firſt* of whom he and his Family owed ſo many Obligations; and to the *laſt* of whom, in Conjunction with the *firſt*, he owed the Acquiſition of *Sicily*, and the other Advantages of the *Quadruple Alliance?* What a Surprize to ſee *Spain* abandon this *Mediation*, juſt in the Moment, (as my Adverſary has

extremely

extremely well obſerved) when the Intereſts of the Duke of *Parma* were in Agitation; Intereſts, which *Spain* had extremely at Heart; and in the ſupporting which, ſhe had Reaſon to think herſelf ſure of Succeſs againſt the *Emperor*; becauſe the *Mediators* had taken ſecret Engagements with her to favour theſe Intereſts, by one of the *Treaties* made at *Madrid* in 1721? What a Surprize to ſee *Spain* do this, and in doing it, not only forego the Advantages, which the *Mediators* had procured and were to procure for her, in many Reſpects; particularly in that favourite Point, the Succeſſion of *Don Carlos*; but make ſo bad a Bargain for herſelf at *Vienna*, that the *Emperor*, according to *this Author*, and indeed I think according to the Truth, *gained every Thing, and particularly the Guaranty of his own Succeſſion?*

All this, it muſt be confeſſed, appeared wonderful, and excited a ſtrong Curioſity to know what were the Springs of ſo great, and, according to theſe Repreſentations, ſo ſudden a Revolution of Counſels and Intereſts. But here we were dropped. The *Enquirer* ſpent much Time, and took much Pains to ſhew what *did not occaſion it*; but I have not obſerved, that he pretended to ſhew what *did*; unleſs he meant, that we ſhould take, for Cauſes of it, thoſe terrible Deſigns, which he imputes to the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*. Our *Miniſters*, who ſeem to have foreſeen ſo little that *France* and *Spain* might

break; and that the *Negotiations*, then on Foot, might be thrown into Confuſion, or take ſome new Courſe, by this Rupture; grew it ſeems prodigiouſly alert and ſagacious, afterwards. They did not *foreſee* what happened; but they diſcovered ſtrange Myſteries of Iniquity, concealed under this Tranſaction, when it *had happened*; and theſe Myſteries we find pompouſly unfolded in the *Enquiry*, with all the *Improvements* and *Embelliſhments*, which the Author's *luxuriant Fancy* could beſtow upon them. Now, ſuppoſing theſe Diſcoveries to have been real, the Things ſo diſcovered can be looked upon no otherwiſe than as Circumſtances of the general Meaſure; the Meaſure, which the *Emperor* and *Spain* took, of treating by themſelves and for themſelves; and therefore they wanted to be accounted for as much as the Meaſure itſelf; but upon this Head, I ſay, the *Enquirer* gave us no Satisfaction. Far from explaining to us what might induce *Spain* to take ſuch a Reſolution, at that particular Point of Time, rather than at any other; he did not afford us the leaſt Hint to gueſs, why we ſhould take it at all; and yet ſo ſtrange an *Effect* muſt have had ſome very conſiderable *Cauſe*; too conſiderable certainly to be abſolutely a Secret, and even beyond the Reach of Conjecture.

This remarkable Defect was, I believe, felt by every Perſon, who read the *Enquiry*; and therefore, in the Progreſs of the Diſpute, the

Writers of the ſame Side thought it incumbent upon them to aſſign ſome *Cauſe*, which might appear proportionable to ſuch extraordinary *Effects*; and which, at the ſame Time, might not be inconſiſtent with what their great Maſter, the *Enquirer*, had advanced. The Taſk was not eaſy; and indeed they have ſucceeded accordingly. Some laid the *Cauſe* of all in that *inveterate Rancour*, which they ſuppoſed the Court of *Spain* to have conceived againſt us, on two Accounts; the Promiſe made by Lord *Stanhope* about *Gibraltar*, and the Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Fleet in the *Mediterranean*. When this was exploded, and I think it was ſo as ſoon as examined, they had Recourſe to another Syſtem; a very ſtrange one indeed; for it declares that the *Emperor*, *France*, and *Great-Britain*, the three contracting Powers with *Spain* in the *Quadruple Alliance*, acted the moſt perfidious Part imaginable in that whole Proceeding; ſuch a Part as *Ferdinand* the *Catholick*, or *Lewis* the XIth, would have ſtartled at. The Succeſſion of *Don Carlos* was, it ſeems, * a Point, which all the *Powers* of *Europe* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; which the *Emperor*, who had already obtained his Deſires, in the Affair of *Sicily*, could not be for; to which the *French* were averſe; which *Great-Britain* had Reaſon to oppoſe and prevent; and which it was plain that the *Spaniards* could

* *Britiſh* Journal, *Jan.* 4.

never

never carry in *a Congreſs, where every Party was an Enemy to their Intentions.* Surely nothing ſo extravagant; nothing ſo inſolent as this was ever yet advanced! If you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, had preſumed even to inſinuate any Thing like it, I believe you would have been proſecuted with all the Severity poſſible; and I am ſure you would have been *given up* by all your Friends. Neither can I conceive how the *Enquirer*, who is ſo zealous an Aſſertor of our Honour in the Obſervation of *Treaties*, could paſs by ſuch an Imputation as this, without darting his Thunder at the impious Head, who deviſed the Slander; unleſs he thinks it an irremiſſible Sin to account for any Thing in Contradiction to himſelf; and a venial Fault to accuſe *Great-Britain* and *France*, as well as the *Emperor*, of ſomething worſe than a Violation of *Treaties*; even of making them with a Deſign to break them; and of obliging a Prince, by *long Negotiations*, and by a *War*, to accept Conditions, which they never intended ſhould be made good to him.

Amongſt others, I preſumed, at laſt, to account for this great *Event* upon Principles, which I believed to be true, notwithſtanding all that I read, in the *Enquiry*; and which I ſtill believe to be true, notwithſtanding all that is ſaid againſt them, in the *Defence of the Enquiry*.

The *Defender* begins with quoting two or three Paſſages, which relate to the ſending back

back the *Infanta*, and the Point of the *ſole Mediation*, out of my *Letter* to you; and then, without diſproving the Facts, or ſo much as mentioning the Argument grounded upon them, he pretends that the whole is hypothetical; and thinks it would be a full and ſufficient Reply to me, to *frame a Scheme on the other Side, and to oppoſe Suppoſition to Suppoſition; and one arbitrary Interpretation of Appearances to another*; after which he proceeds to frame *ſuch a Scheme*; partly on Facts, which he would have us believe true; and partly, as he ſays himſelf, *from his own Invention*; and this he thinks proper to oppoſe, in a ludicrous Manner, to the Account I have given.

Now, if it ſhall appear, on Examination, that I have built upon undeniable Facts, and have reaſoned juſtly, inſtead of building on *Suppoſitions*, and giving *arbitrary Interpretations to Appearances*, this *Author*'s Smartneſs will turn upon himſelf; and, inſtead of ſhewing that I deſerved no Anſwer, he will only have ſhewn that he was unable to give me a good one.

Let us enter into this Examination.

I affirmed, and I do ſtill affirm, that from the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*, the *Spaniſh* Miniſters were full of Fears and Jealouſies about the compleating the *Infanta*'s Marriage with the King of *France*. Neither do I find any Thing urged in the *Defence* of the *Enquiry*, to deſtroy the Credibility of this Fact.

Indeed,

Indeed, if it was proper to descend into Particulars of so delicate a Nature, it would not be at all difficult to demonstrate, from a Consideration of the Change, which was made in the *French* Ministry, and of the Difference of personal Situations, Interests and Views, that altho' there never could have been Room for such Fears and Jealousies as these, while the Duke of *Orleans* had lived, yet there was great Room for entertaining them, under the Administration of his *Successor*. But this is not all. These Fears and Jealousies increased and strengthened daily, in the Minds of the *Spanish* Ministers; and if *this Author* pleases to enquire, I believe he will find, or else his *Prompters* deal very unfairly by him, that the Delay and Excuses of the Court of *France* about performing the Ceremony of the *Fiancialles*, which *Spain* expected should have been performed soon after the Time, at which the Duke of *Orleans* dy'd, confirmed, in the highest Degree, the Suspicions already taken. The Ceremony of the *Fiancialles* would have secured the Marriage. What other Effect then could Excuses and Delays in this Affair produce, but that, which I have mentioned?

The *Enquiry* * says, *that the Resolution of the Court of* France, *relating to the* Infanta, *did not come, no not in Suspicion, to* Madrid, *till* March 8. N. S. 1724-5. If he means the particular Resolution of sending her back at such a *determinate Time*, that is nothing to

* Page 15.

the

the Purpoſe, how much ſoever the Affirmation might impoſe, when it was made uſe of at firſt, and before this Matter had been ſufficiently canvaſs'd. But if the Reſolution of ſending the *Infanta* back, at *ſome Time or other*; in plain Terms, the Reſolution of *not compleating her Marriage* with the King of *France*, be meant; then, I ſay, that I might very juſtly have ſet this Aſſertion down in the Liſt of thoſe, which are made in the Book without a ſtrict Regard to *Truth*; for it is undeniably true, that the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, in foreign Courts, entertained this Suſpicion above a Year before that Time. It is equally true, that ſeveral Months before that Time they ſpoke of this Meaſure, as a Thing they expected; and I add, that ſeveral private Perſons, at leaſt, writ from *Madrid*, in the ſame Stile, to their Correſpondents in other Countries. Of all this I am as ſure, as I am ſure I now hold a Pen in my Hand; or that a Pamphlet, called *a Defence of the Enquiry*, is now lying before me; and therefore neither the Authority of the *Enquiry*, nor any better Authority can perſuade me, *that the Suſpicion of a Deſign to ſend the* Infanta *back from* France *did not come to* Madrid *till* March 1724-5; becauſe it would be abſurd to believe, that the Miniſters of that Court were leſs informed or leſs jealous about an Affair of this Importance, than private Perſons; or that the repeated Advices, which muſt have come

come from the *Spaniſh* Miniſters abroad, made no Impreſſion upon thoſe at home.

This Fact is, I think, pretty well eſtabliſhed; and the others I am to mention will occaſion no Diſpute. They are theſe. The *Spaniards** firſt took the Reſolution of throwing off the *Mediation*, and of treating at *Vienna* in *Nov.* 1724; and *Ripperda*'s full Powers were ſigned, according to the *Enquiry*, on the 22d of that Month; that is, about a Year after the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*. Soon after this, the *Negotiation* was begun; but the *Treaties*, in which it terminated, were not ſigned till the laſt of *April* and the firſt of *May*, 1725.

Theſe, I preſume, are *Facts*, and not *Suppoſitions*. Let it now be conſidered how I argue upon them; and whether my Reaſoning be nothing more than an *arbitrary Interpretation of Appearances*, as the Author of the *Defence* hath raſhly pronounced, but not ventured to attempt to prove. The Sum of my Argument is this. Since the *Spaniards* expected that the *Infanta* would be, a little ſooner, or a little later, ſent back from *France*, they expected to find themſelves, a little ſooner, or a little later, obliged in Honour to ſhew a due Reſentment of this *Affront*; to ſend back the Princeſſes of the Houſe of *Bourbon* from *Spain*; and to break off that Correſpondence, which had ſubſiſted between the two Courts, from *Spain*'s Acceſſion to the

* Enquiry, Page 15.

Quadruple Alliance; and which had been ſo intimate, during the Life of the Duke of *Orleans*. They could not foreſee how long this Rupture might laſt; becauſe they could not foreſee how ſoon a Change would be made in the *French* Miniſtry, and Satisfaction be given them for this *Affront*; but they could not fail to foreſee, that if this *Event* ſhould happen, during the Congreſs of *Cambray*, ſomething worſe than the *Affront* would follow, and they muſt remain in the moſt abandoned Condition imaginable; broke with *one Mediator*; not ſure of the *other*; the *Emperor* in Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; and the reciprocal Condition, in favour of *Don Carlos*, not effectually ſecured to them. Theſe Things are ſo intimately and neceſſarily tied together, that I can as little diſcover how it is poſſible to allow the *firſt Fact*, which regards the Suſpicions and expectations of the *Spaniards*, and deny the *Conſequences*, which follow; as I can ſee how it is poſſible to contradict, with the leaſt Appearance of Reaſon, a *Fact* ſo publickly known, ſupported by ſo many Circumſtances, and juſtify'd by ſo many Conſequences as the *firſt* is. The probable Arguments employed in the *Defence*, and which, it may be pretended, will ſerve to prove that though the *Fact* were true, and the Suſpicion I have inſiſted on, was entertained by the Court of *Madrid*; yet that it did not produce the Effects of throwing *Spain* into the Engagement ſhe took at *Vienna*, will be conſidered preſently.

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Thus far then, as we have a Deduction of *Facts*, not of *Suppositions*; so we have a Thread of consequential Arguments, not a Rhapsody of *arbitrary Interpretations of Appearances*. The Case is fairly stated; and no *imaginary Scheme* is offered to be imposed for *Truth*. The Probability, which results from this State, is confirmed, and I think turned into Certainty by the *Event*. By the State above-mentioned, it was probable that *Spain* would take Measures, in Time, against the Distress, to which she must foresee that she stood exposed. Accordingly, *the* Spaniards *began to treat at* Vienna, before the *Infanta* was sent from *France*, (which is a Fact allowed on all Hands) *that they might prepare for the worst*; and when I add, *that they delayed concluding their Treaty*, or that the Conclusion of their Treaty was delayed, *till what they feared happened*; what do I affirm more than what my *Adversary* allows? He had said, at first, that the *Treaty of Peace was signed at* Vienna, *before what* Spain *feared from* France *was known there*. He has corrected that Assertion; and has said, *that as the Treaty of Peace was agreed to at* Vienna *before what* Spain *feared from* France *was known at* Vienna *to have happened*; *so it was signed before the Refusal of* Britain *could be known there*; that is, the Refusal of the *sole Mediation*. The *first Point* then is yielded to me. The *Spaniards* did not actually sign at *Vienna*, till the News came thither, of the

the *Infanta*'s being actually sent from *France*; though they had settled and agreed their Terms with the *Imperialists*, on the Knowledge that she would be sent away. On the *second Point*, all that I urged, as Fact or Argument, stands in the same Force it did before; for I desire *this Author* may not be indulged in a Liberty I shall never take with him, nor any one else; the Liberty of carrying my Affirmations, by strained Constructions, farther than the plain and natural Import of the Terms I employ.

In Opposition to *Publicola*, I shewed that the Manner, in which he affirmed the Treaty of *Vienna* to have been signed before the Refusal of the *Mediation* was known there, did not refute *Raleigh*; on Account of some *possible Circumstances*, there mentioned. Now *this Author* has been forced to leave the Proof, drawn from those *possible Circumstances*, just as he found it. *There is no Proof*, says he, *but the bare Possibility here insisted on*. I say more. The Argument is as strong against *him*, as against *Publicola*; for even after the Advantages taken over *Publicola*, for not expressing himself clearly, *this Author* has, for Reasons easy to be guessed, expressed himself in a Manner liable to the same Objection. The Peace *was signed*, he says, *before the Refusal of* Britain *could be known*. What! before it could be known by *certain* and *direct Intelligence*; or before it could be known in *Form*, after the tedious Round,

which this Resolution was to take? That is not explained; and yet that was the single Point, on which any Thing could be said to the Purpose. In short, we pursued, with great Steadiness, our wise Maxims of neglecting *Spain*, and of adhering closely to *France*; insomuch that those, who wished us no good, were perhaps heard, when they insinuated that, far from contributing to ward off a Blow so much apprehended by *Spain*, we privately abetted *France*, in her Design of breaking the *Match*, and imagined by that Measure to establish an irreconcilable Quarrel between the two Courts. The *Spaniards*, as well as the *Imperialists*, had Reason to believe, from our whole Conduct, that we should not accept the *sole Mediation*, which had been offered to us; and was it then strange that the *former*, neglected by *us*, provoked by *France*, should press the signing *this Treaty*, without waiting long for our Answer; or that the *Emperor*, who got so much by the Bargain, should consent to it?

Having been thus led to the Affair of the *sole Mediation*, which I had hitherto omitted to speak of, in order to avoid Confusion, I shall consider it here, as far as *this Author* has made it necessary for me. In my Letter to you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I dwelt a good deal upon it. I placed it in every Light, and debated all the Merits of the Cause, as well as I was able. Now, if what I urged was absurd and

and nothing to the Purpoſe, *this Author* ſhould have ſhewn, in general, that it did not deſerve a more particular Anſwer. If what I urged was clear and ſtrong, as ſome People imagine it was, *this Author*, who declares himſelf, in every Point, of a contrary Opinion, ſhould have had the Goodneſs to examine and refute my Arguments. How it happens I know not; but this great Maſter of *polemical Writing* hath, in every Inſtance, upon this Occaſion, avoided to enter into the Argument. He hath dwelt on the Outſide of Things, and hath generally cavilled at Circumſtances.

I have juſt now given a ſtrong Inſtance of this; and I lay hold of the Opportunity to tell *this Gentleman*, that I am no Apologiſt for *Spain*, tho' he endeavours to fix that Character upon me by an *Innuendo*, ſo very fine, that I was for ſome Time at a Loſs to find out his Meaning. I neither ſounded to Arms againſt the *Spaniards*, two Years ago; nor am, at preſent, an Advocate for bearing their *Delays* and their *Inſults*. I neither aggravated, two Years ago, the *Depredations* and *Hoſtilities committed in the* Weſt-Indies, *by the* Spaniards; * *and thoſe Violences, by which the whole Commerce of* Jamaica *hath been well nigh deſtroyed, and the Trade of that Iſland reduced to a miſerable Condition*; nor do I

* Enquiry, *p.* 60.

now ſoften in their Favour, and call theſe Outrages and Loſſes by the gentle Name of * *Inconveniencies attending a State of Uncertainty.*

But to return. Having given an Inſtance of *this Author*'s cavilling at Circumſtances not material in the Diſpute; I ſhall now give ſome Inſtances of his affirming over again, by way of Anſwer, what had been refuted before; and when I have done this, I ſhall have taken Notice of all that he ſays, upon the Subject of the *ſole Mediation.*

Firſt then he ſays, that *the Knowledge of the Negotiations going on at* Vienna was a juſt Reaſon to decline this Offer, which he ſuppoſes to have been a *mere Piece of Mockery.* But he does not ſo much as pretend to ſay a Word, in Anſwer to what I inſiſted upon, as an Advantage in accepting this *Mediation,* even ſuppoſing it offered to us without any Deſign that we ſhould concern ourſelves in it. He does not pretend ſo much as to controvert what I urged, to prove that the worſe Opinion we had of the Deſigns carried on at *Vienna,* the more Reaſon there was to catch at this Offer of the *Mediation.*

Secondly, he inſiſts, that we could not accept this *Mediation,* with a due Regard to our *Alliance* with *France*; and he ſuppoſes, that this Reaſon will be thought juſt *by all thoſe, who do not think the Breach of Faith,*

* Defence, *p.* 13.

and

and the Violation of Treaties, *Matters of no Concern.* Here again is another charitable *Innuendo.* But let it paſs. It would be eaſy to ſtrengthen all that was ſaid, on this Subject, in my *Letter* to you, by ſhewing the Difference between ſuch a Stipulation as this of a *joint Mediation*, and the Covenants, which Princes and States enter into with one another, about their mutual Intereſts. But there is no need of it; ſince *this Author*, who thinks fit to inſiſt on this Point, hath not thought fit to anſwer any one of the Arguments urged by me, to prove that *France* could not have complained of us, if we had accepted this *Mediation*; and yet there were ſome Dilemma's laid down, which ſeemed to deſerve a Solution.

Laſtly, he pretends that I affirmed, *againſt the moſt publick Facts, and the plaineſt Appearances*; what I ſaid to ſhew that our Acceptance of the *Mediation* muſt have been agreeable to *France*; and yet what I ſaid was founded on *publick Facts and the plaineſt Appearances*; which he has not touched, becauſe he durſt not deny them. It is really very ſtrange, that ſo conſiderable an *Author* ſhould continue to write, when he can neither find out *new Arguments*, nor anſwer the Objections made to *old ones*.

Having now diſpatched the Point of the *ſole Mediation*, it remains that I ſay ſomething to thoſe *probable Arguments*, (if they deſerve

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that Name, which I have civilly given them) by which *this Gentleman* pretends to destroy what is, I think, established on the solid Foundation of *Fact* and *Reason*, concerning the Measure taken in *France*, after the Death of the late Duke of *Orleans*, to break the Match with the *Infanta*, and the Consequence of that Measure, the throwing *Spain* into the Hands of the *Emperor*.

Now the *first* of these Arguments is, that the Court of *Spain* did not mention this *Affront* from *France*, as any Inducement to the Transaction at *Vienna*; and that any such mention would have been inconsistent with other Declarations made to Mr. *Stanhope* at *Madrid*. Very well. It is then an established Rule, that we are not to believe a Court has *Motives* for their Conduct, which *Motives* they do *not own*, altho' we have the strongest Reasons imaginable to believe such *Motives true*. Another Rule, which *this Author* would do well to establish at the same Time, and which is founded on as much Reason as the former, is this; that we are to believe all the *Motives*, which a Court thinks fit to give out, to account for their Conduct; altho' we have the plainest Proofs imaginable that these *Motives are false*. Such Logick as this was never introduced into *Politicks*, I believe, before; and I am persuaded that you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, will excuse me, if I spend no Time in answering it. Let me desire you however, before I leave this Argument, to turn to the

13th and 14th Pages of the *Enquiry*, where you will find that the *Enquirer* ſays, the *Imperial* Miniſters at *Cambray*, at *London* and at *Paris*, talked the very Language, which the *Defender* of the *Enquiry* ſays the *Spaniards were always* aſhamed to make uſe of *. Nay, the *Enquirer* adds, that, *upon the firſt publick News of the* Vienna Treaty *at* Madrid, *the Diſcourſes of many were taught to run that Way, and to dwell upon that ſame popular Topick.*

The *ſecond* of theſe Arguments is this. If the News of ſending back the *Infanta* from *France*, and of *Great Britain*'s refuſing the *ſole Mediation*, had both come to *Madrid*, before *Ripperda* was ſent from thence; even this *could not have really been, and would not have been pretended to have been the Motive of what was afterwards done at* Vienna. And why, pray? Becauſe when the News of our refuſing the *ſole Mediation* did come, the Court of *Spain* acknowledged it to be a *reaſonable Proceeding*. This, you ſee, is built on the Principles laid down in the laſt Article, and deſerves no farther Notice. But on the News coming to *Madrid*, that the *Infanta* was ſent home, he confeſſes that the *Court of Spain might, by ſuch Circumſtances, be induced to try what honourable Terms the* Emperor *would come to*. This Conceſſion goes farther than he is aware of; for I deſire to know if

* Page 19.

it is reaſonable to believe that *Spain* would have treated with the *Emperor*, when the Caſe had happened, why it is unreaſonable to believe that *Spain* did begin to treat with him on almoſt a *certain Proſpect* that the Caſe *would happen*; which is the great Point we have been contending about? Ay, but *Spain* would not have treated with the *Emperor* to hurt *Holland* and *Britain*, becauſe *Spain* had been hurt by *France*; nor would the *Emperor* have entered into a *Treaty* to hurt *them, who had no Part in the Affront to* Spain *and never injured the* Emperor. Again; much leſs would the King of *Spain* ſend a Miniſter to *Vienna* to *enter into and finiſh Treaties*, which ſhould hurt other Nations, upon a *Suſpicion* that *France* would hereafter *affront* him. I could make ſeveral Reflections on ſome of the Expreſſions in this Place; and on the Turn, which the Author takes, of putting ſome very odd Arguments into my Mouth; and, what is ſtill more, into the Mouths of the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*. But I forbear; and content myſelf with ſaying two Things, which will effectually blunt the Point of all the Wit employed in this Paragraph, and fully anſwer the whole of what is ſaid farther, upon this Subject, in the *Defence* of the *Enquiry*.

Firſt then; as far as I am from being, or pretending to be, a *Maſter in Politicks*, (which *Degree* this Writer ſeems to have taken long ago) I never imagined that the

Affront,

Affront, conſidered merely as an *Affront*, precipitated *Spain* into all the Engagements ſhe took with the *Emperor*; though, by the Way, he miſtakes very much, if he thinks, as he ſays, that he may deny *new freſh Reſentments* to determine the Conduct of Princes, *exactly upon the ſame Grounds*, as I have denyed that *old ſtale Reſentments* have this Effect. What I imagined, what I ſaid, and what I proved was, that this *Affront*, conſidered as a neceſſary Breach with *France*, at leaſt for a Time, would throw *Spain* into ſuch Circumſtances of Diſtreſs, as ſhe was to prevent by all poſſible Means; and that therefore *Reaſon of State* determined in this Caſe; though no doubt the *Affront*, at the ſame Time, provoked the *Spaniards*. Thus I am conſiſtent with myſelf; and the *Author* might have ſpared himſelf the Trouble of writing this *elaborate Paragraph*, if he had adverted to my Senſe, inſtead of playing with my Words.

Secondly; as to the *Emperor*, our *Author* is guilty of begging the Queſtion; for the *Emperor* will inſiſt, as he has inſiſted, that his Engagements were not Engagements to injure any Body; that he entered into no *offenſive Alliance*; and that, when he exacted from *Spain* the Guaranty of the *Oſtend Trade*, and of his *Succeſſion*, he exacted the Guaranty of nothing but of that, which he judges he has an independent Right to eſtabliſh and ſecure. As to *Spain*, it will be likewiſe ſaid, that when his *Catholick Majeſty* treated with the

the *Emperor*, he never meant to hurt *other Nations*, but to ſecure his *own Intereſts*; that if his Guaranty of the *Oſtend Trade* hurts the *Dutch* or *us*, he is ſorry for it; but could no more avoid that Engagement than he could ſeveral others, extremely diſadvantageous to himſelf, and into which he was however obliged to enter; becauſe he was obliged to purchaſe the *Emperor*'s *Alliance* at any Rate; that therefore we muſt not blame him, who oppoſed the Eſtabliſhment of the *Oſtend Company*, whilſt he could do it, without any Support from *us*; who never gave his Guaranty to it, till he was forced to do ſo, by the *Neceſſity* of his Affairs; into which *Neceſſity* he was falling for above a Year together, without ſeeing the Hand of *Britain* once ſtretched forth to hinder it. Such Anſwers as theſe would certainly be given; and, in the Mouths of the *Imperialiſts* and the *Spaniards*, they would be juſt.

If, after all that has been ſaid, *this Gentleman* is unable, upon my Notions, to account for the King of *Spain*'s reſolute flying from the *Mediatorſhip* of *France*, I am ſure it is not my Fault. A few *Sacrifices* did indeed help to pacify *Spain*, and to reconcile her to *France*; and a few *Sacrifices* might, for aught I know, have reconciled our Quarrels; or, which is better, have prevented them. But as no one can foreſee now when ſuch *Sacrifices* will be made here; ſo neither could *Spain*, at the Time when ſhe ſent to *Vienna*, foreſee

foresee when such *Sacrifices* would be made in *France*.

Upon the whole Matter, and to conclude this tedious Article; if the Way, in which I have endeavoured to account for the Resolution taken by *Spain* to abandon the *Mediation* of *Cambray*, and to treat at *Vienna*, be not right; I should be glad to know what the right Way is. No other, which *this Gentleman*, or any reasonable Man will venture to support, has been yet pointed out. But I apprehend the Account I have given to be a just one; because it is built on *Fact* and *Reason*; because the *Event* hath, in every Respect, confirmed it; and because it shews not only why *Spain* broke with *France*, and apply'd to the *Emperor*; but why *Spain* entered into these new Measures, after the Death of the Duke of *Orleans*; which it cannot be pretended she ever thought of doing, while that Prince was alive. If now this Account be a just one, many melancholy but useful Truths result from it.

But I need not point out these Things. The World will discover them, without any Help of mine, and will judge how well the *Enquiry* hath been vindicated, by the *Author* and *Defender* of it, upon *this Head*.

The next Point, upon which my *Reasonings* and *Imputations* are to be try'd at his *Tribunal*, is that of *Gibraltar*; and here he sets out, by *accusing* me (not in *Terms* indeed; but in a Manner almost as plain) of *Lying*; of

of direct, *premeditated Lying*. I will keep my Temper, though a Field large enough is opened to me; and though the Provocation is not a little aggravated by the *solemn Air*, with which this *Accusation* is brought; by the Pretences to *Patience*, and *Meekness* and *Candour*; and by all the *Appeals to God*, with which my *Accuser* hath, in several Parts of *this Treatise*, endeavoured to captivate the good Opinion of Mankind, and to establish his *own Reputation*, that he might make sure of ruining that of *others*. He calls to my Mind the Character of *Mopsus* in TASSO's *Aminta*.

——di quel Mopso
Ch' a ne la lingua melate parole,
E ne le labra un' amichevol ghigno,
—— —— ——e il Rasoio
Tien sotto il manto.

I will have the Decency not to translate the Verses into *English*.

It is not necessary that I should say much about the *Jealousies*, which *this Author* seems to complain arose at one Time, lest *Gibraltar* would be *given up* or *artfully betray'd into the* Spaniards *Hands*; nor about the *vigorous Defence* of it, which was made afterwards. Thus much however I will say, that when Sir *John Jennings* was called home, with all the Troops embarked on Board his Squadron, just before the *Siege*, and even from the Neighbourhood of *Gibraltar*; when the *Spaniards* were suffered,

fered, under Sir *Charles Wager*'s Eyes, to transport by Sea many Things necessary for the *Attack of the Place*; and when it was known that the Town wanted almost every Thing necessary for the *Defence* of it, People stood a-gaze, and not without Reason. The Cries of the Nation precipitated at last the *Supplies*; and the Vigour of the Garrison made a glorious Use of them.

I come now to the Accusation, brought against me by *this Writer*. I said, in my *Letter* to you, that the *Spaniards* ground their present Claim to the Restitution of *Gibraltar* on a *private Article in a Treaty, made with them in* 1721, *stipulating the Contents of a* Letter, *to be written by the late King, and on the* Letter, *written in pursuance of this Article.* This is the Fact. The *Accusation* is, that there is no such Article in the *Treaty*; and many Words are employed to cut off all Pretences of Excuse, and to pin the *Lye* upon me. Now I desire it may be observed, in the first Place, how very exact and knowing a Critick *this Gentleman* is; who, after pronouncing with so much *Emphasis*, that *he hath read the Treaty himself*, and *finds no one Article belonging to it, which hath the least Relation to this Subject*, proceeds to mention the *Treaty*, and quotes a *wrong one*. No Man would have imagined that such a Stipulation could have been supposed to be in the *defensive Alliance* between *Great-Britain, France* and *Spain*, of the 13th of *June*, 1721, who had

had known that there was a diſtinct *private Treaty*, of the ſame Date, between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*. But this it ſeems was a Secret to my *Accuſer*; tho' the *Treaty* had appeared printed in the fourth Volume of ROUSSET's *Collection*, when he committed this Miſtake. It was of *this Treaty* I meant to ſpeak; and the Reaſon why I expreſſed myſelf in that Manner was this. I have had ſome Years by me an *Extract* of this very *Treaty*, which was long kept a great Secret, and for the keeping of which Secret there is an *expreſs Proviſion* in the ſixth Article of it. When the *Treaty* became publick, I found that my *Extract* of the ſeveral *Articles* was exact; and therefore I gave the more Credit to the *ſeparate Article*, mentioned in the ſame *Extract*, as belonging to this *Treaty*, and ſtipulating the Contents of a *Letter* to be written by the *late King*. The *Letter* I never ſaw; but the Account I have had of it by thoſe, who have read it, agrees with my *Extract*. All this induced me to think that there was ſuch a *ſeparate* and more *private Article*, belonging to this *private Treaty*; nor was I at all ſurprized to ſee the *Treaty* come abroad without *this Article*; knowing full well that *Treaties* often appear, when the *ſecret Articles* belonging to them do not.—— This is a true State of the Caſe; and will, I believe, ſufficiently juſtify me for what I writ. But I have not yet done with my *Accuſer*. Let it be, that no ſuch *private Article*, as I

was

was led to ſuppoſe, does exiſt, or was ever executed. Will he venture to ſay that no *ſuch Article* was *drawn up*, as he expreſſes himſelf about the *Treaty* of *Pacification?* Will he venture to deny that if our *Miniſters* were afraid to ſign *ſuch an Article*, and therefore did not ſign it, the Reaſon, on which the *Spaniards* were induced to recede from this Point, was, that *ſomething equivalent* ſhould be done; and that this *ſomething* was his late *Majeſty's Letter* to the King of *Spain?* I appeal, in my Tu n, *to the loweſt Obſerver, as well as the higheſt, who* hath gone about to deceive Mankind; *this Author or I*; *this Author*, who conceals from the World what he knows, or might know, with all the Means of Information, which he has in his Power, and what ſets the Matter in quite another Light than he hath repreſented it; or *I*, who, having not the ſame Means of Information, fell into an undeſigned Miſtake; which does not alter the *State of the Caſe*, in favour of my Argument; ſince if the *Spaniards* accepted this *Letter*, which was writ in lieu of the *Article*, which was not *ſigned*; their *Pretenſions* (and nothing but their *Pretenſions* are under Conſideration here) will be ſtill the ſame.

As to the *Letter* itſelf; what I affirm about it is, that the *Spaniards* pretend it is a *poſitive Engagement to reſtore* Gibraltar *to them.* That this ſhould be allowed them, I am as far from agreeing as *this Author* can poſſibly be; but

that the *Letter* is ſufficient to keep up their *Pretenſions*, I affirm; and that in Fact they do keep up their *Pretenſions*, on this Foundation, is notorious. Was *this Gentleman* to diſpute the Point with the *Spaniards*, he might comment as much, and diſtinguiſh as ſubtily as he pleaſed, on the Terms of the *Letter*; the *others* would inſiſt, that it was given them as an *Engagement*; that if they had not received it as ſuch, they would not have departed from the *Article*; and I doubt they would be apt to inſinuate that we could not have found a more *proper Caſuiſt* than himſelf, to diſtinguiſh us out of our Obligations, amongſt their own *Schoolmen*, or amongſt all the Sons of *Loyola*.

To ſpeak ſeriouſly; it were to be wiſhed extremely, that the *Spaniards* had not had this Colour for perſiſting in their Demand of *Gibraltar*; or that it had been by an expreſs and clear Stipulation taken from them; ſince it is certain that the *Right and Poſſeſſion of* Gibraltar *is* nothing leſs than *aſcertained to* Great-Britain by the *Preliminaries*, as they ſtand; *and conſequently that all Claim of* Spain *to it again is not extinguiſhed*.

I contradict him in his *own Words*, though none of the *propereſt*; and I will prove, in what I am going to ſay, either that he does not at all underſtand the Matter he talks ſo magiſterially about; or that he attempts, in this Inſtance, to deceive the World, by giving wrong

wrong Interpretations to ſome Things, and by concealing others.

If then, although the *Letter* of the late King hath given the *Spaniards* a Pretence to claim *Gibraltar*, this Claim is effectually barred, and even extinguiſhed by the firſt general Words of the *ſecond Article* of the *Preliminaries*; how comes it to paſs that *Gibraltar* was not *ſpecifically* mentioned, in order to prevent any future Chicane? It will be ſaid, I know, that as the King of *Spain*'s Acceſſion to the *Quadruple Alliance* vacated any Promiſe, which my Lord *Stanhope* might have made; ſo the King of *Spain*, by conſenting to theſe *Preliminaries*, has vacated any Engagement of this Kind, which the *Letter* may be ſuppoſed to contain; and I, perhaps, ſhall be quoted again as *one, who muſt neceſſarily ſee the Force of this Argument*. But *this Author* muſt not judge of my Eye-ſight by his own; for I ſee a manifeſt Difference between the *two Caſes*. My Lord *Stanhope*'s Promiſe is ſaid to have been *conditional*; all allow that it was *verbal*; and I think it is allowed likewiſe, that the *late King* never confirmed it. The ſimple Acceſſion of the King of *Spain* to the *Quadruple Alliance*, might therefore be thought very juſtly ſufficient to put the Matter, at that Time, out of all Diſpute for the Reaſons given by me, and quoted by *this Author*. But when the *Preliminaries* were to be ſettled, the King of *Spain*'s Claim to the *Reſtitution* of *Gibraltar* reſted on an

Engagement, or what he took for an *Engagement*, entered into by the *late King*, and under his Majeſty's *own Hand*. Beſides, this Engagement, or Promiſe, whether valid or not valid, had been inſiſted upon as valid, in a *formal Treaty*, and had been made the Foundation of the *ſecond Article* in the *defenſive Alliance* between the *Emperor* and the King of *Spain*, which relates to *Gibraltar*. It required therefore ſomething more to put an End to a Claim, founded in this Manner, than to a Claim, founded on any Promiſe that my Lord *Stanhope* could make. Theſe Conſiderations could never eſcape the Penetration of that moſt *able Miniſter*, who negotiated the *Preliminaries*; and therefore I conclude, *firſt*, that the *Spaniards* would not conſent that *Gibraltar* ſhould be mentioned *ſpecifically* in the *ſecond Article*; and, in the *next Place*, that they could refuſe to conſent to it on no Reaſon whatever, but this one, that their *Pretenſions* to *Gibraltar* would be kept alive, if it was not mentioned *ſpecifically*, notwithſtanding the general Words, ſo much inſiſted upon by *this Writer*. He has not therefore *anſwered* my *Demand*; nor ſhewn *in the Preliminaries an Article, which is indeed as expreſs and effectual a Confirmation of our Right to* Gibraltar, *as if the Word* Gibraltar *had been put into it*. But he goes on, and obſerves, *that the* latter *Part of this* ſecond Article *greatly ſtrengthens the* former; becauſe it is there ſtipulated, *that if any Thing*

Thing ſhall have been altered with reſpect to *Rights* and *Poſſeſſions, or not have been put in Execution, the Alteration made, or the Thing not executed, is to be diſcuſſed in the Congreſs, and decided according to the Tenor of the ſaid Treaties and Conventions*; that is, in his Senſe, according to the Tenor of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht*, and of the *Quadruple Alliance*; for he mentions no other, except that of *Baden*, which hath nothing to do here. Now, ſays he, *nothing, either as to the Right of* Great-Britain *to* Gibraltar, *or to the Poſſeſſion of it, hath been at all altered; nor hath there been any Non-execution*, &c. From whence he infers, that our Right to *Gibraltar* is not included in this Deſcription of *Points left to be diſcuſſed in the Congreſs*. But how could he avoid ſeeing that he aſſumes for granted the very Thing diſputed? No Alteration hath been made in *our Right* to *Gibraltar*, ſays he; therefore *this Right cannot be diſcuſſed*. An Alteration hath been made in *this Right*, ſay the *Spaniards*, by a *private Engagement* taken with us in 1721; therefore *this Alteration is to be diſcuſſed at the Congreſs*. Who doth not ſee, that whether this Right *ſhall be found to have been altered*, and what the Alteration imports, are by this Preliminary to be *diſcuſſed and decided at the Congreſs*?

I think, I have now ſhewn what I undertook, and what *this Gentleman* challenges me to ſhew; that is, I have ſhewn *thoſe general Words in the Preliminaries*, upon which the

O 2 *Spaniards*

Spaniards may found a Pretence for reviving their Demand of *Gibraltar*; or, to ſpeak more properly, ſince they have never ceaſed to make it, for continuing this Demand. But I have undertaken ſomething more; and therefore will proceed to ſhew what this Gentleman was ignorant of, or what he concealed very unfairly, becauſe it is *deciſive* againſt him.

I think he could hardly be ignorant that the *ſecond Article* of the *Preliminaries* not only recalls the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and the *Quadruple Alliance*, as he quotes the *Article*, but likewiſe all *Treaties and Conventions which preceded the Year* 1725; which *latter Words* he does not quote. Perhaps, he judged them unneceſſary. If he did ſo, he was much miſtaken; for by the 5th *Article* of the Treaty of 1721, between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, it is declared, *that all the Pretenſions of both Sides, touching Affairs not expoſed in the preſent Treaty*, and *which Pretenſions are not comprehended in the ſecond Article of it*, ſhall be treated of in the *future Congreſs*; which was at that Time the *Congreſs* at *Cambray*. Now let it be obſerved, that the Affair of *Gibraltar* is not one of the Affairs *expoſed in this Treaty*. Let it be obſerved alſo, that the *Pretenſion* of the *Spaniards* to *Gibraltar*, is not one of the *Pretenſions* comprehended in the *ſecond Article* of it; and then let any Man deny, if he can, that, in the Intention of *Spain*, theſe Words

were

were relative to the *Pretension*, which she acquired by the *private Engagement*, taken in the *Letter* so often quoted. If the *Letter* gave her a Right, as she insists, it gave her a *Pretension* certainly to claim that Right, and this *Pretension* is carefully preserved by the *Treaty* of 1721. I do not say among *other Pretensions*; for I think I may venture to say that all *other Pretensions* are specified in the *Treaty*; even that relating to the free Exercise of the *Roman Catholick Religion* in *Minorca*; and therefore these Words seem to have been singly applied to the *Pretensions* of *Spain* on *Gibraltar*. Will not the *Spaniards* now insist, upon these Foundations, that they enjoyed, in 1721, a Right to demand the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, by Virtue of *Conventions* then made; and that the *second Article* of the *Preliminaries* preserves entire, to all the *contracting Parties*, whatever *Rights*, as well as *Possessions*, they had by Virtue of any *Treaty* or *Conventions*, antecedent to the Year 1725; and that therefore the first general Words of the *second Preliminary* preserve to them the *Right* of demanding the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, as a *Right* acquired by *Conventions* made before the Year 1725; whilst the last general Words of the same *preliminary Article* preserve this *Right* as an Alteration made in the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* and in the *Quadruple Alliance*?

How little Weight soever the *Defender* of the *Enquiry* may allow to these Observations,

 which

which would I doubt have ſome in a *Congreſs*, yet he muſt allow that they ought not to have eſcaped him, or to have been concealed by him; ſince they do certainly affect the Merits of the Cauſe, on which he has ſo poſitively pronounced Judgment, without any Regard to them. But I am almoſt ready to aſk your Pardon, Mr. *D'Anvers*, for ſaying ſo much on this Point, when there is another more clear, and more deciſive ſtill behind. Is it poſſible our *Author* ſhould never have heard of a *certain publick Inſtrument*, containing a *Declaration* explanatory of the *Preliminaries*, made by the *French* Miniſter at the *Pardo*, on the 4th of *March*, 1728, and accepted and confirmed by himſelf, and by the *Imperial*, *Britiſh*, *Spaniſh* and *Dutch* Miniſters on the ſixth of the ſame Month? If this Inſtrument hath ever fallen into his Hands, and it is in every Body's elſe, did he never read theſe Words in it, *that all* Pretenſions, *on all Sides, ſhall be produced, debated, and decided in the ſame Congreſs?* The Diſputes about *Contrabands*, and other Complaints made by the *Spaniards* concerning the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and the Diſputes about the Reſtitution of *Prizes*, which Articles are taken Notice of in the Introduction to this *Inſtrument*, are, by particular Clauſes in it, referred to the Diſcuſſion and Deciſion of the *Congreſs*. To what Purpoſe then were theſe general Words inſerted? To what Purpoſe was it ſtipulated that *all Pretenſions*

whatſoever

whatſoever (among which the *Pretenſion* of the *Spaniards* to the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* muſt neceſſarily be included; ſince, whether ill or well founded, it is ſtill a *Pretenſion* on their Side) ſhall likewiſe be referred to the *Congreſs*; and that his *Britannick Majeſty ſhall be obliged to ſtand to what ſhall be decided upon the whole?* But I forbear to preſs this Matter any farther upon the *Gentleman*; ſince it would be, in ſome Sort, like ſtabbing him on the Ground.

I proceed to the Article of blocking up the *Galleons*; which is the *laſt*, upon which I am attacked in the *Defence of the Enquiry*. And here I muſt obſerve again, that he is very far from entering into a Refutation of the Arguments advanced by me to prove, that *ſeizing the Galleons* was a Meaſure liable to no Objection, and in every Reſpect preferable to that of *blocking them up*. He obſerves indeed, upon Mr. *Hoſier*'s Letter, that the Treaſure had been taken from on Board the *Galleons*, when our Squadron arrived before *Porto Bello*. Now, without making any Reflections on the Intelligence brought from on Shore to the Admiral, and taking it for granted that all this Treaſure was in Time removed out of his Reach; it will ſtill be true that this Circumſtance proves nothing in Defence of the Meaſure taken to *block up the Galleons*, and not to *ſeize them*; ſince whether they would have the Riches on Board them or not, when Mr. *Hoſier* ſhould arrive, could not be

known, when his *Instructions* were drawn. If all these Riches had been actually at *Porto Bello*, when he came thither, he would have had, in Effect, nothing more to say to the *Spaniards*, than what the Orders they had received ten Days before from *old Spain* imported; which was, that they should secure the Money in the Country.

The single Point, insisted upon to justify this Measure, and which the *Writer* pronounces to be *sufficient*, is that the contrary Measure, that of *seizing the Galleons* in Port, with all their Treasure on Board, if it had been practicable, would *have put* Europe *into a Flame, by putting all the Proprietors of those Riches, whether* French, Dutch *or* Spanish, *into the greatest Uneasiness.* At the same Time, he allows that taking these Ships, if they *had attempted, by Force or Stealth, to come out, had been reasonable.* Sure I am it is enough to say in reply to this, that as to the *Uneasiness*, which such a Seizure might have given the *Spanish* Proprietors, it deserved no Consideration; that the *French* and *Dutch* Proprietors would have believed, or ought to have believed, their Effects as secure in our Hands, as in the Hands of *Spain*; especially in a Point of Time, when they were, by Treaty at least, engaged on our Side in Opposition to *Spain*; and lastly, that the Distinction between *seizing the Galleons* at Sea, or *blocking them up in Port*, as if one was, and the other was not an Hostility, is very manifestly

manifeſtly a Diſtinction without a Difference; to prove which, I dare appeal to every Man in *Britain*, whether he would not eſteem the Hoſtility as great, and the Inſult greater if a *Spaniſh* Squadron ſhould block up *Portſmouth*, than if it ſhould cruize in the Channel and take our Ships at Sea. The Gentleman cuts the Diſpute ſhort, by referring us to the *Obſervations on the Conduct of* Great-Britain; and I ſhall readily join Iſſue with him, by referring, on my Side, to the *Craftſman extraordinary*; in which theſe *Obſervations* are fully anſwered, and treated as they deſerved to be.

Having mentioned the *Galleons*, our *Author* could not avoid taking ſome Notice of a Queſtion I aſked, in anſwering *Publicola*, and which he allows to be very material. His Anſwers to it deſerve a ſhort Reflection or two. *Since the Galleons are coming home, hath* Spain *renounced thoſe Deſigns, which our Fleet was ſent to the* Weſt-Indies to prevent? Thus he ſtates the *Queſtion*; and his Anſwer is, *Truly I can't tell; nor can any one in the World, who is not in the Secrets of the Court of* Spain. A little afterwards he aſks the ſame Queſtion; *Has the King of* Spain *renounced his Projects*; that is, thoſe Deſigns which our Fleet was ſent to the *Weſt-Indies* to prevent? His Anſwer is, *Yes undoubtedly, as far as Articles ratified by him can bind; and as far as any contracting Powers can be bound by Treaty to one another.* Let us ſee

what

what is urged between the *firſt* and the *ſecond* aſking of the *ſame Queſtion*, to produce ſuch a wide Difference in the *Anſwers*. The King of *Spain* hath ratified the *Preliminaries*, in Conſequence of which the Siege of *Gibraltar* is raiſed. Orders are ſent to reſtore the *South-Sea Ship*; and he has promiſed, that the Effects of the *Galleons* ſhall be delivered. He hath therefore *renounced his Projects by Treaty*; but whether he hath renounced them in his Heart; *whether he will go on to act an open and honeſt Part*, that is more than our *Author* can tell. It is more likewiſe than any one will deſire, that *he* or *thoſe*, for whom he is an Apologiſt, ſhould pretend to tell, or be anſwerable for. But let us ſee what they are *anſwerable* for; what has been really done by *Treaty*; what we have obtained to make us ſome Amends for the rotting of our *Ships*; for the Loſs of ſo many *thouſand Lives*, and for the *Depredations* and *Hoſtilities*, which this *Author* ſounded ſo high formerly; and which were carried on with redoubled Vigour, during the *pacifick Blockade* of the *Galleons*.—The Effects of the *Galleons* are to be delivered. I congratulate the *Dutch* and the *French* upon it; but eſpecially the *latter*, who have ſuch immenſe Wealth on board them. Our Share is, I fear, a ſmall one; too ſmall to bear any Proportion to the *Expence* we have been at, or the *Loſſes* we have ſuſtained.—Orders are ſent to reſtore the *South-Sea Ship*; but the Claims of the *Spaniards* either on that Ship,

or on any Account, are preſerved to them, and referred to a *Congreſs*, by whoſe Deciſion we muſt abide; and nothing is ſtipulated, which may ſecure to our Merchants a juſt Recompence for the numberleſs Seizures and Captures of their *Effects* and *Ships*.——The Siege of *Gibraltar* is raiſed; but the Right to the *Poſſeſſion* of that Place hath not been effectually put beyond Diſpute. The Obſtinacy and the Chicane of the *Spaniards* have prevailed ſo far, that they preſerve, even by the *Preliminaries*, a Pretence for bringing this Right to be decided in the *Congreſs*; and I ſhall be glad to hear what *Ally* we have there, on whoſe good Offices we can depend for ſecuring to us the Right of poſſeſſing, and the Poſſeſſion of this *important Place*.——Upon the whole, I am extremely ſorry to find, that I was ſo much in the Right, when I advanced that no Man could ſay, with Truth, that the *main Things*, in Diſpute between *us* and *Spain*, were yielded to us before the Return of the *Galleons*; unleſs he reckoned our keeping *Gibraltar*, and I might have added the procuring Satisfaction to our *Merchants*, not among the *main Things* in Diſpute, but among thoſe of *leſs Importance*. —— I ſay very ſincerely, that I had much rather have been refuted.

It appears, I think, from what hath been ſaid, that the *Author* and *Defender* of the *Enquiry* has not only been *given up* by his *own Side*, but even by *himſelf*, in ſeveral *Particulars*;

ticulars; and ſeveral other Points, which were inſiſted upon, in the *Enquiry*, and have been diſputed in *other Writings*, are either not mentioned at all in the *Defence*, or in ſuch a ſlight Manner as plainly ſhews the *Author*'s Conſciouſneſs that he cannot ſupport them, though he is very unwilling to *give them entirely up*; ſo that the *Author* gave a very *partial Title* to his *laſt Production*; which can be juſtly called, at beſt, a *Defence* only of *ſome Points* in the *Enquiry*; and is, more properly ſpeaking, a *Recantation of it, with a few particular Exceptions.*

But now, Mr. *D'Anvers*, what ſhall I ſay to you in Excuſe for ſo many and ſuch *long Letters?* The beſt thing I can ſay, is to aſſure you, and I do it very ſolemnly, that I will trouble you with no more of them. The *Gentleman*, to whom I have now replied, may *enquire* and *defend*, as much as he pleaſes, without any farther Moleſtation from *me*. When I began to write on this Subject, I meant nothing leſs than the ſilly Ambition of having the *laſt Word* in a Diſpute. I ſaw, like every other Man, publick Diſtreſs. I thought I diſcerned the true and original Cauſe of it. The Affectation, which I obſerved to turn us off from this Scent, fortified me in my Opinions, and determined me to examine what was alledged againſt them. I have done ſo; and if in doing it, I have contributed in any Degree to open the Eyes of my Countrymen, on their *true*, and on their

their *miſtaken Intereſts*, I have obtained the ſole End, which I propoſed to myſelf. I love and I hate; I eſteem and I deſpiſe; but in a Caſe of this Moment, I ſhould abhor myſelf, if any regard to *Perſons*, and Conſideration, except that of *Truth*, had guided my Hand in Writing.

I began by aſking Pardon of *this Author* for an Injuſtice, which I have done him thro' *Error*, not *Malice*; and I ſhall conclude with aſſuring him, that upon whatever Principle he may have treated me, as I think I did not deſerve, I lay down my *Reſentment* with my *Pen*, and remain in *Chriſtian Charity* with him.

I return to the Buſineſs of my *low Profeſſion* in Life; and if I was worthy to adviſe him, I would adviſe him to return to that of his *high Calling*; *to feed the Flock committed to his Charge*. That I may the more effectually perſuade him to take a Reſolution ſo much for his own Honour, and for the Advantage of the *Church*, I will exhort him to it, in the Words of the *Apoſtolical Conſtitutions*, with ſome very little Variation, in order to render the Paſſage more applicable.

Sit autem Epiſcopus turpis lucri non quæſitor, præſertim de Gentilibus; *malitque detrimentum capere, quam inferre. Non ſit*	"Let a *Biſhop* then "not be fond of ma-"king his Court for "*Gain*, and eſpecial-"ly to the *Gentiles*. "Let him rather re-ceive

avarus; non maledicus, non falsus Testis, non iracundus, non contentiosus, non negotiis, litibusque secularibus implicitus; non pro alio sponsor, aut in causis pecuniariis Advocatus. Non ambitiosus, non duplicis sententiæ, non bilinguis; calumniæ & maledicentiæ non cupidus auditor; non Hypocrita, fallaciis vanis non utens. Quia hæc omnia Deo *sunt inimica*, Dæmonibus *grata.*

Constit. Apostolic.
Lib. II. Cap. 6.

" ceive than do an Injury. Let him not " be given to *evil* " *speaking*, nor to bear " *false Witness*. Let " him not be *wrathful* nor *contentious*. " Let him not be engaged in the Business " and Disputes of the " *World*. Let him not " be ready to answer " for *others*. Let him " not be the Advocate " of *private Interest* " in *publick Causes*. " Let him not be *ambitious*, nor *double-minded*, nor *double-tongued*. Let him " use neither *Simulation* nor *Dissimulation* in his *Conduct*; " nor *vain* and *fallacious Sophisms* in his " Discourse. For all " these Things are " hateful to *God*, and " pleasing to the *Devil*.

I am,

Mr. D'ANVERS, *&c.*

JOHN TROT.

ON

Good and Bad MINISTERS.

WHILST a *wicked* and *corrupt Miniſter* is weighing out *Panegyricks* and *Dedications* againſt *juſt Satires* and *Invectives*; or, perhaps, is numbering his Creatures and teaching them their implicit *Monoſyllables*; whilſt he is drawing out his *Screen*, and providing for a *ſafe* and *decent Elopement*; or, it may be, comforts himſelf with the Hopes that the publick Joy, at his Removal, will drown all *future Enquiries*; or that he ſhall *keep ſweet* a good while longer, till the Worm ſeizes his Carcaſs, and Poſterity preys upon his Memory; it may not be improper to turn your Thoughts upon the Reverſe of his Character, and to enquire by what Marks a *good Miniſter* may be found out and diſtinguiſhed; or, ſince he is only a *Creature*, by what Arts, and in what Method, he may be formed and brought into Being. A People, who are running the Hazard of a *Death-Bed Repentance*, want nothing ſo much as a *good Miniſter*;

and a *bad One* dreads nothing more than an *honeſt Succeſſor*, who comes after him without treading in his Steps; takes his Place without giving into his Secrets; and will not be won by a Share of his Rapine to partake, at the ſame time, of his *Crimes* and *Corruptions*.

We know the mighty Hand, that is to form this Creature, and that the *Breath of our Noſtrils* is to give him Being; but it is no Preſumption, no Infringement of the Right of Election, to trace out a general Character of many juſt and worthy Candidates. It is no Nomination, no Deſignation to a particular Office, to deſcribe a good Officer at large, with all his Qualifications and Endowments. Neither the *honeſt Labourer*, who diſcovers the Mine, or digs out the Ore; nor the *ſkilful Artificer*, who purifies, refines, and weighs it, can in any Senſe be ſaid to incroach upon the Authority of Thoſe above him, who are appointed to make the laſt Eſſay; to ſhape and mould it; and all Theſe are Friends to *Cæſar*, who finiſhes the Work; and gives it his own Image and Superſcription.

Let us then imagine a Number of Men, ſcattered up and down a great, wiſe, and diſcerning Nation; in their Deſcent noble and generous; full of the Virtues of their Anceſtors; in their Temper affable and ſweet-natured; educated in the Knowledge and Study of our Conſtitution, its Laws, Settlements, Dependences and Intereſts; always faithful

faithful to the Crown, when consistent with their Duty to their Country; fonder of the Substance, than the Outside of Religion; easy in their Fortunes; Lovers of Mankind; more careful to preserve, than to aggrandize a Family; making Virtue the Foundation of their Friendship, and Merit the Title to their Favour; Preservers of the Freedom of others, as well as of their own; delighting rather to be thought good than great; pleased with any Opportunity of making their Fellow Creatures happy; just in all their Dealings; moderate in their Pleasures; true to the several Trusts, which have been reposed in them; watchful over the Accounts of others, and ready to submit their own to a full and impartial Inspection; not servile when out of Power, nor imperious when in it; studying more the Propriety of *Oratory*, than its Ornaments and Garniture; and speaking rather to the good Sense of others, than to their Passions or Interests; not solicitous for a *Place*, because they want it, but because the Place wants them; so keen in their Resentments for the Publick, that they have no Room for those, which are personal; well acquainted with the most noted Characters and Transactions of late Years; indifferent in their Choice of publick or private Life, but careful to adorn both; and looking on the Revenue of an Office to be so far publick Money, as it is intended for the Support and Dignity of that Office, to which it is appro-

priated.——Men of this Character, Stars of this Lustre, are still stuck in good Plenty up and down our Hemisphere. The Changes of the Weather may sometimes hide, but cannot extinguish them. Their short-lived Obscurity is indeed their Advantage; for by This we know what it is to want them, and their Influence. Their Brightness is tried, and distinguished from *Meteors* and *false Fires*. The Regularity of their Courses is more observed; and their Glory, when it breaks out again, becomes doubly recommended.

Imagine now a Man, of this Order and Character, advanced to the *Ministry*. Suppose him not well acquainted with the Course and Dependence of many of the *Offices* and Branches of Trust under his Direction; and for that very Reason not over-forward to prescribe for *Abuses*, or admit of *Corruptions* upon the Plea of *Custom*; yet whilst it is natural for him to find out, or to place in these Offices such Men as most nearly resemble himself; he could never want good Intelligence both at Home and Abroad; clear and faithful Accounts. The *Eyes*, *Hands*, and *Feet*, which he borrowed from others, would be so much like his own, that he could not fail to see clearly, act fairly, and walk uprightly. Such a *Minister* would with Pleasure meet a *Senate*, chosen as himself was, by the same Marks and Qualifications. He would encourage such a Choice as his best

Security;

Security; and when the *boni & legales Viri deVicineto* are returned to *Parliament*, as well as upon *Juries*, the Electors do alike consult their own Honour and Interest. A *triennial* or *septennial Bribe*, as ill-spent as it is ill-gotten, makes no Amends for the Loss of Credit and Reputation, which are the Support of Commerce; and it is as easy to prove, that the *Corruption* of some Boroughs is the Cause of their *Poverty*; as to prove, that their *Poverty* is the Cause of their *Corruption*. But to resume my former Subject.——The *Marks* I have pointed out, and the Rules I have laid down, are of such Use to the Publick, in the Choice of a *good Minister*, that where only *one* of them (the Character of *common Honesty*) hath been attended to, and the rest have been barely guessed at, or left to wild Chance; such a Choice has very often been more beneficial to a Country, than a Choice made upon the very Brink, or even from the Bottom of that horrible and dreadful Gulph, commonly called *profound Policy*.— I shall illustrate this Truth by one remarkable Instance, which I hope is too remote and far-fetched, to be hauled and wrenched into *modern Application*. The *Grand Seignior* is said to walk abroad very often *incognito*, and to have his Out-lets and Conveniencies, both in the *Camp* and *Seraglio*, where he can oversee the Assemblies of his Domesticks and Officers, and be his own *Spy* upon their Actions and Conversation. Listening one Day to the

grand Minister of his Kitchen, in a full Assembly of his own *culinary Subalterns*, closely debating the present Juncture and Posture of Affairs, (when Discontents ran high, and the general Voice laid the whole Blame upon the *Prime Vizier)* he heard the *grand Master*, then in the Chair, sometimes threatening Justice, and denouncing Vengeance; brandishing his *long Knife* at the Close of every Period; sometimes shaking his *Stew-Pan* with —*Oh! He could toss up such a Dish of Politicks!*—And every Menace, every Period concluded with a Wish—*That he was Prime Vizier but for one Month only*.—The *Grand Seignior* took him at his Word; and, in a few Days, advanced him to that high Post next himself. Where all are *Slaves*, this Advancement was by no means surprizing. 'Twas a meer despotick Humour and Frolick; and perhaps done with a Design to punish his Vassal's Presumption, by setting his *own Knife* to his Throat, upon the first false Step or Mismanagement in his Conduct. But the Man was honest, and the Master agreeably disappointed. No *Minister* ever filled that Station, for many Years, with greater Honour and Reputation; or was better beloved both by *Prince* and *People*. He fed the *Empire*, as he had done the *Emperor*, with *good, wholesome Diet, well cooked* and *garnished*. He strewed *Plenty* every where, and seemed, by his Conduct, to understand perfectly well that fine Maxim of

Cæſar, which deſerves a whole *phyſical, moral*, and *political* Eſſay, fully to explain it—*Let me have Men about me that are* fat.

' If Chance and Incident, or Caprice and Humour, can go thus far in the Choice of a *good Miniſter*, who at firſt ſetting out only ſtumbled upon *good Senſe*, and *common Honeſty*; what will not *good Senſe* and *common Honeſty* do, when joined with thoſe other *noble Qualifications*, of which I have given a Detail, and when marked out and diſtinguiſhed by a regular and judicious Choice? They have made the Reigns of *Minors*, and of Monarchs, never out of their *Minority*, glorious and flouriſhing. They have tranſformed *Queens* into *Amazons*, and confined the Faults of a ſoft and vicious Prince to a few Apartments; made them Darlings of their People, and their People happy under their Government. But where a Prince, truly wiſe and great, and good in himſelf, is ſurrounded by a Multitude of ſuch Counſellors; to how amazing an Height, and to how many Generations may he extend his Grandeur and the publick Felicity? *Such Miniſters*, under a Monarch, the Father of his Country, will conſequently conſider all his Subjects *as Princes of the Blood*, (ſo a *merry Writer* of the laſt Age called them) or, in the inſpired, royal Style, as *Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone*; not in a *natural Senſe*; for *Adoption* is better than *Nature*. *Such Miniſters* will put out the *Revenues* of their

Maſter to Intereſt in the *Pockets of his Subjects*; then, with a—*non rapui ſed recepi*, recall them upon a real Neceſſity. *Such Miniſters* will raiſe a *ſtanding Force*, ſo very numerous, that it ſhall take in *all the landed Gentry and trading Commons of a Nation*; and perhaps 5 *d.* a Day is not ſo good Encouragement, as when Men fight for their *All*; for they fight for their *All*, when they fight for a *Prince*, with whom they have but one *common Safety* and *Intereſt*. *Such Miniſters* will not ſuffer the *Law* to be made the *Back-Sword* of Juſtice, which cuts only on *one Side*. They will not ſcore up a *War* to the Reckoning, when the *good Company have not had it in*; nor palm a *Truce* upon us, with all its Accidents, for the real Body of a *ſolid* and *laſting Peace*, by a new political *Tranſ*-or-*Conſubſtantiation*. In ſhort, they will not, like ſome old *Roman* Minions and Favourites, make a *Statue* of their Maſter, and then fly to it for *Refuge*.

ON THE

POLICY of the ATHENIANS.

Hoc illud eſt præcipuè in Cognitione Rerum ſalubre, ac frugiferum, omnes Te Exempli Documenta in illuſtri poſita Monumento intueri; inde Tibi, tuæque Reipublicæ quod imitere capias; inde fœdum Inceptu, fœdum Exitu quod vites.

SIR,

IT is ſo common a Failing to think that every Thing, which particularly affects us in Reading, will equally pleaſe and entertain others, that I hope you will excuſe the Fondneſs of a young Student for an old Story, which I have lately met with in the Hiſtory of *Greece*; and I fancy it may prove as agreeable an Amuſement to others as it hath been to myſelf; but if you think otherwiſe, the Uſe it will be of to you in lighting your Pipe will make you ſome Amends for the Trouble of reading it.

Darius Hyſtaſpis is the firſt, I think, who is mentioned in Hiſtory to have been poſſeſſed with the wild Ambition of *univerſal Empire*;

and in order to carry on this chimerical Deſign, he made ſeveral unſucceſsful Expeditions into *Europe*; where he was informed that *Greece*, which then made a very conſiderable Figure in the World, would probably give him no ſmall Oppoſition in his projected Conqueſts; particularly the *Athenians*, who with ſome of the Iſlanders, their Confederates, had given him a mortifying Inſtance of their Boldneſs and Reſolution, by daring to aſſiſt their Colonies, in the Leſſer *Aſia*, in their Endeavours to ſhake off the *Perſian* Yoke and recover their antient Liberties. This was looked upon as ſuch an Affront to the Power of the *grand Monarch*, (as he is ſtyled by the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times) that nothing would ſatisfy him but the intire Conqueſt of *Greece*; to which he was likewiſe continually ſolicited by *Hippias*, Son of the famous Tyrant *Piſiſtratus*, who upon being expelled by the *Athenians* for invading their Laws and Liberties, had fled to *Darius* for Protection and Aſſiſtance to recover his Tyranny.

The *Monarch*, however, to give ſome Colour to his Quarrel with the *Grecians*, ſent to the ſeveral States to demand *Earth* and *Water* from them, as an Acknowledgment of their Homage and Subjection to him; requiring, at the ſame Time, that the *Athenians* ſhould reſtore *Hippias*.

Athens and *Sparta*, the moſt conſiderable States in *Greece*, fired with a juſt Reſentment

ment at this haughty Demand from a free People, took his Meſſengers and threw them into deep Pits; telling them that there they might find *Earth* and *Water* for their King *Darius*; who, being enraged at this new Provocation, ſent his Generals *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, with an Army of above one hundred thouſand Men, to revenge ſuch an open Defiance and Contempt of his Power, with Orders to bring the *Athenians* Priſoners.

It is well known that *Miltiades* with a very ſmall Number of Men, animated with the glorious Love of Liberty, routed theſe numerous Forces at the famous Battle of *Marathon*, and for ſome Time ſecured the Liberties of *Greece*.

Darius, being very deſirous to recover this Diſgrace, employed all his Endeavours, with the Power and Riches of the *Perſian* Empire, to make Preparations for a ſecond Attempt; but dying before they were compleated, he left the Proſecution of this Deſign to his Son *Xerxes*; who, having raiſed the greateſt Army that ever appeared upon the Stage of the World, (being ſaid to be ſome Millions) marched with them into *Europe* over a Bridge made croſs the *Helleſpont*; but before he entered *Greece*, he again experienced the Courage and Bravery of the *Grecians*, by the Stop that was put to the Progreſs of this incredible Multitude, with a very inconſiderable Number of Men, under *Leonidas*, at the Paſs

of

of *Thermopylæ*; which the *Perſians* gained, at laſt, by the Treachery of a *fugitive Greek*, who led them a private Way over the Mountains to ſurround the *Grecians*.

The unexpected Succeſs of this ſmall Body, with the Victory which the *Athenians* ſingly gained, ſoon after, over *Xerxes*'s Fleet, would they hoped have been a ſufficient Encouragement to the confederated *Grecians*, who had entered into a grand Alliance againſt the *Perſian*, to have continued firm to them, in the Defence of their common Liberties; but when the *Athenians* propoſed to attack the *Perſians*, in order to prevent their marching into *Attica*, the *Spartans*, with their other Allies, either from Treachery or Cowardice, or a Mixture of both, in a very ſhameful and infamous Manner refuſed to march, and deſerted the *Athenians*, leaving them to ſtruggle with thoſe unequal Numbers, which it was impoſſible for them alone to reſiſt; yet placing their Happineſs in their Liberty, and their Liberty in their Valour, (as *Thucydides* expreſſes it) they did not even in this Extremity deſpair; but their Virtue and Courage taking new Force from their Diſtreſs, they abandoned *Athens* to the Fury of the *Perſians*, having firſt tranſported their Wives and Children to their Friends in the neighbouring Iſlands, and reſolved with their *Fleet*, without any other Aſſiſtance, to conquer or die, in the Defence of their Liberties.

This glorious Resolution, with their Knowledge and Skill in naval Affairs, which they had very happily cultivated, enabled them to gain an intire Victory over the *Persian* Fleet. This so terrified the haughty *Xerxes*, that he fled with the utmost Precipitation and Confusion to the *Hellespont*, and passed into *Asia* in a little Boat; and the Forces he left under his General *Mardonius*, to continue the War, being some Time afterwards intirely routed at *Platea*, *Greece* was absolutely freed from all farther Fears of the *Persians*, solely by the Virtue and Valour of the *Athenians*; who, forgetting the former ill Treatment of their Allies, had besides the additional Merit of leaving *Athens* a second Time exposed to the Plunder of the Enemy, under *Mardonius*, rather than make a separate Peace with the *Persian*, who offered to render them full Satisfaction for all their Losses in the War; to pay them a vast Sum of Money; and make them Sovereigns of all *Greece*; but they generously refused to be instrumental in enslaving that Country, which they had so bravely defended, and preferred the glorious Title of the *Deliverers of Greece* to all other Considerations.

We may now look upon *Athens* in the Height of its Glory and Prosperity; and they would, in all Probability, have continued to be the last flourishing State in *Greece*, if they had been Masters of any Prudence, and improved the Advantages, which now lay

lay open to them; but ſuch is the Uncertainty of all human Felicity, that we ſoon find them, by their fooliſh Conduct, gradually loſing all the Benefits of their amazing Succeſſes in the War, till they at laſt fell under the Power of *that State*, which owed its Being and Preſervation to them. *Athens* therefore may be truly ſaid to date its Ruin from the Day of its Triumph over the *Perſian*; for preſuming upon her great Merits and ſignal Services in defending and preſerving the common Liberties of *Greece*, they grew haughty and inſolent to all the neighbouring States; and wholly neglecting the Care of their own Affairs, they took all Occaſions of intermeddling with thoſe of their Neighbours; too often promoting Differences, in order to make themſelves the ſole Arbitrators and Umpires of them; by which Means they were generally ſo unfortunate as to increaſe the Number of their *Enemies*, inſtead of making *new Friends*. But that, which raiſed the greateſt Reſentment againſt them, was their pretending to preſcribe Laws to the Trade of all *Greece*, and endeavouring to exclude the *Megareans* from any Share in it. This was made the Ground of the War between Them and *Sparta*, which was not a little offended at the imperious Manner, in which *Athens* claimed the Right of holding the *Balance of Power* in *Greece*, which they were certainly in Poſſeſſion of, and might have long and

eaſily kept, if they could have been content with the *Thing*, without affecting to make a vain Shew of it, and thereby ſhocking the other Powers of *Greece*, equally independent with themſelves; for nothing would have more effectually ſecured the Superiority they aimed at, than making Uſe of the great Reputation and Credit, which they had deſervedly gained, by interpoſing their good Offices to reconcile the frequent Differences, which aroſe amongſt the ſeveral States of *Greece*, ever jealous of their own Authorities; but whilſt the *Athenians* kept within the Bounds of Moderation, the *other States* ſhewed upon all Occaſions the greateſt Deference and Reſpect to their Mediation; and the whole of their Policy conſiſted in interpoſing their Force, in Caſes of Neceſſity only, to prevent the *Weak* from being unjuſtly oppreſſed by their *more powerful Neighbour*; and in avoiding, as much as poſſible, to make themſelves *Parties*, much leſs *Principals* in their Quarrels.

Such a wiſe Conduct would have given them Leiſure and Opportunity to enjoy the Fruits of *that Peace*, which they wanted to recover the Loſſes and eaſe the Burdens of a long and heavy War, ſupported chiefly by them, and carried on at a much greater Expence of Blood and Treaſure, than they had ſuffered, at any Time, ſince the Foundation of their State.

It

It is certain that they were under the happieſt Circumſtances to have effected this, ſoon after the War; for their great naval Power, which made them the undiſputed Maſters of the Sea, made them likewiſe equally eſteemed and feared by their Neighbours. To this we may add the Advantages of their Situation, and Knowledge in all maritime Affairs, with their numerous Ships and the Benefits of their Colonies abroad; which might have enabled them to improve and extend their Trade, the only true Source of Riches, beyond any other Nation, and would have ſoon put them into ſuch a flouriſhing Condition, as would have deterred the moſt powerful of their Neighbours from entertaining any Thoughts of diſturbing their Tranquility; and much more from entering into Projects of humbling, or ſubduing them.

But they had the Misfortune, for ſeveral Years, to groan under the Government of a Set of *Miniſters*, who were too intent upon their own Intereſt to have any ſerious Regard for the Welfare of the Publick; though that was the conſtant Subject of their own Praiſes; and the better to carry on their ſelfiſh and miſchievous Deſigns, and divert the People of *Athens* from looking into their Conduct, they not only promoted continual Diſſenſions amongſt them, under the different Diſtinctions of *Favourers or Oppoſers of the former Tyranny of* PISISTRATUS; but they likewiſe engaged them, on one Side or the other,

other, in every Quarrel, that aroſe not only in *Greece*, but in *Aſia* and Places at the greateſt Diſtance, upon the ſmalleſt Pretences of antient Alliances, or Kindred with their Anceſtors; by which Means they waſted their Strength and Riches in many fruitleſs and unneceſſary *foreign Expeditions*, for no other Purpoſe than to make a Parade of their Power at Sea; and which had no other Effect than to increaſe the Envy and Jealouſy of their Neighbours.

To ſupport ſuch extraordinary and extravagant Expences, they were obliged to raiſe almoſt as great and heavy Impoſitions, as they did in the Time of the *Perſian War*, to the great Decay of Trade and Impoveriſhment of the People; and though this was coloured with the ſpecious Pretences of extinguiſhing all Remains of the *former War*, and ſettling a *ſolid and laſting Peace*; yet it did not prevent the frequent Murmurs and Complaints of the Publick; nor were there wanting Perſons, who vigorouſly and honeſtly oppoſed Meaſures, which were ſo viſibly deſtructive of the true Intereſts and Safety of *Athens*; Meaſures, which it would have been impoſſible to have continued, if the *Heads of the Faction*, who got Poſſeſſion of the Government, had not found Means to delude the People, from Time to Time, with the great Advantages they were every Day to receive from an *univerſal, eſtabliſhed Peace*, by which they were to be delivered from all

all Apprehenſions of the Return of *Hippias*, or any of his Deſcendents; and the *Balance of Power* was forever to be ſecured to the *Athenians*; a Notion which had been ſo ſucceſsfully propagated in *Athens*, and ſo much intoxicated the Minds of the People, that there was no Impoſition ſo groſs, which their Leaders could not paſs upon them, under this Pretence; and it was the never-failing Argument for ſilencing all Oppoſition, and removing all Objections to the moſt *chimerical Projects*, or *unreaſonable Propoſitions* in their publick Aſſemblies.

Athens was daily languiſhing under this unhappy Management, which would have brought certain Ruin upon her in the End, without the Calamity of the *Peloponneſian War*; for nothing prevented it but the continual Struggles of her *great Men* to ſupplant one another. This kept them in ſome Awe, and reſtrained them from doing all the Miſchief, which they had both in their Inclination and Power; ſo that the Preſervation of *Athens*, for ſome Time, may be ſaid to be owing, in a great Meaſure, to the ſhort Continuance of thoſe in the Adminiſtration.

But *Cimon*, *Ariſtides* and *Tolmidas*, with ſeveral other conſiderable Men of real Merit and Abilities, who, notwithſtanding ſome Failings, had done their Country very great and eminent Services; *theſe Men*, I ſay, happening to go off the Stage very near one another,

another, left the Field open to PERICLES, who first subverted their Constitution, and then erected to himself an arbitrary Power, which ended in the Destruction of *Athens*.

He was a Gentleman of a private Fortune, but unmeasurable Ambition, which made him stick at nothing to advance himself in the State. For this Purpose he set out on the Foot of *Liberty*, and courted the Affections of the People, by pretending a Zeal for their Interest upon all Occasions; but when he had once made himself considerable by these Methods, he threw off the Mask, and treated them with the utmost Insolence; by Turns betraying all those, who trusted him, and knowing no Friendships, or Enmities, but such as favoured, or opposed his corrupt Purposes. He gave a very remarkable Instance of this, with Regard to *Cimon*, a *noble Athenian* of great Parts and Integrity, but one, whom *Pericles* hated and constantly opposed, for keeping him under that Subordination, which became his Station and Character. Yet *Cimon* afterwards falling under a Prosecution from the People, he screened him in the publick Assembly, and then made a Bargain with him, to share the Government between them; but took an Opportunity to revenge himself in the Ruin of his Son *Lacedæmonius*, after his Father's Death.

As he was Master of great Volubility of Tongue, with a Knack of speaking plausibly

in publick, and had joined to this a very daring and consummate Assurance; so he knew perfectly well how to improve them to his own Advantage, in supporting any Proposition, right or wrong, as it best suited his present Purpose; for nothing was more common than to see him in *one Assembly* with great Zeal confuting his own Arguments in a *former one*; and he never scrupled to contradict the most certain Truths, or to assert the most notorious Falshoods, in order to carry his Point, though sure to be discovered a few Hours afterwards, having always an Evasion ready at Hand.

But notwithstanding the great Opinion, which he seemed to entertain of his own Eloquence and Cunning, he was convinced they would prove but a very feeble and short-lived Support to him, without some better Assistance. He therefore made Use of all his Art and Contrivance, to work himself into the Administration of the *publick Revenues*; in which he had the good Luck to succeed, after the Death of *Aristides*; who, having been long Treasurer of *Greece*, did not leave Money enough behind him to defray the Expences of his Funeral.——Happy had it been for *Athens*, if *Pericles* had succeeded him in his noble Qualities, as well as Employment. But his Character was the Reverse of the *good Aristides*, and his Administration one continued Scene of Rapine and Profusion. Thus did he establish his Power

on a much more laſting Foundation than his Predeceſſors, by applying himſelf to the Foibles and Vices of Mankind, which are too often the ſureſt Hold upon them; for though it is not to be imagined but that many Corruptions had ſprung up, during the former Diſorders and Weakneſs of the Government; yet ſome Remains of the Modeſty and Virtue of their Anceſtors had hitherto reſtrained the *Athenians* from an open and avowed Proſtitution of their Integrity; but *Pericles*, by the licentious Diſtribution of *Bribes* and *Bounties* amongſt the People, ſoon extinguiſhed all Sentiments of their former Honeſty and Love of their Country, which he treated as the moſt ridiculous Fanaticiſm; and all the Endeavours of a few to oppoſe this Torrent of Iniquity were the publick and ſtanding Jeſt of his Converſation.

This extravagant and unnatural Flow of the publick Money by Degrees introduced that Spirit of *Expence* and *Luxury* amongſt all Ranks of Men, under the miſtaken Notion of *Politeneſs*, which conſumed the Eſtates of the beſt Families in *Athens*, and ſoon made them ſo neceſſitous, that forgetting their antient Honours and the Dignity of their Birth, they were not aſhamed to become the known Penſioners of *Pericles*, living in as abject a Dependence upon him, as the meaneſt of the People.

Thus was *universal Corruption* spread over the whole State; and, to compleat their Misfortune, the *very Money*, which was reserved for the Necessities of War only, was spent in debauching the Minds of the People, and what was designed for their Preservation, turned to their Destruction.

As *Pericles* was not qualified by his Rank to be of the Assembly of the *Areopagus*; (the great and supreme Judicature of *Athens*;) so to remove every Obstacle to his Ambition, he employed all his Art to undermine their Authority, and by Degrees drew all publick Business of Consequence to the *popular Assemblies*; where, by the Assistance of *Bribes*, *Pensions* and *Employments*, which were all at his Disposal, he was secure of carrying every Thing almost without Opposition.

This, together with the scandalous Disrespect, with which *Pericles* affected to treat them upon all Occasions, and their slavish Submission, at the same Time, to all his Orders, falling in with the general Depravation of the Times, soon brought them into the lowest Contempt with the People, and destroyed all Regard for that *antient and august Assembly*, which had for many Ages been the Bulwark and Defence of the Constitution.

After this fatal Blow to a *State*, which made the proudest Boast of its Liberties, and had ever shewed the greatest Jealousy of any Incroachments upon them, *Pericles* obtained

almost

almoſt as abſolute and uncontrouled a Power as the Tyrant *Piſiſtratus* himſelf; which gave Occaſion to the calling him and his Creatures the *new Piſiſtratides*; for though it is well known that the *Archons* had the Exerciſe of the regal Power, yet we ſcarce read of any Thing but their *Names*, during the whole Miniſtry of *Pericles*; to whom all Applications, both at home and abroad, were conſtantly made; and he ſcarce left them the Shadow of Sovereignty.

But in the Height of this Proſperity, he was not a little diſturbed with the Threats of a War from *Sparta*; the Seeds of which, as is before obſerved, were ſown ſoon after the End of the *Perſian War*, and ripened into Action by the monſtrous Conduct of *Pericles*, who by Turns provoked their Reſentment, and courted their Friendſhip, in the moſt ignominious Manner.

It would be tedious and unneceſſary to enlarge upon the particular Differences, which had, from Time to Time, ariſen between them, and increaſed the Animoſities of the *two States*.

Many Endeavours had been uſed, to put an End to this uneaſy Situation of Affairs; in which *both States* were under the Inconveniences and Expences of an actual War, though no formal Declaration had been made of one, and the Interruptions the *Athenians* found in their Trade, with the Continuance of very ſevere Taxes, occaſioned many loud

Complaints amongſt the People; to quiet which a ſort of Ceſſation was agreed upon for five Years. This, however, laſted but a very ſhort Time, the old Grudges breaking out again into new Hoſtilities; in the Purſuit of which both Parties being tired, a Peace was made between them for thirty Years, though it laſted between five and ſix Years only, which were chiefly employed in forming new Alliances, in order to be prepared for War; each Side being very ſenſible that the *Articles of the Treaty* were only patched up for the preſent, but were not a ſufficient Foundation for a laſting Peace; and accordingly they were very negligently obſerved on both Sides; but it was the Misfortune of *Athens* always to loſe Ground by theſe ſhort Intervals of Truce; for their unhappy Behaviour had irritated many of their Neighbours againſt them; and their confederated Subjects took the firſt Opportunity to chuſe *new Protectors*, and free themſelves from the grievous Impoſitions, which the *Athenians* had laid upon them, under the Pretence of raiſing Supplies for the War.

Pericles, well foreſeeing the fatal Conſequences, which an open Rupture with *Sparta* would be to his Affairs, neglected no Endeavours to prevent it; and it is, not improperly, ſaid that the Age of *Negotiation* then began in *Greece*. *Miniſters* and *Ambaſſadors* were ſeen continually poſting not only over all *Greece*, but even in the adjoining Kingdoms

of

of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*; both Sides endeavouring to engage them in *new Alliances* in their Favour; and *Pericles* was not aſhamed to court the Friendſhip even of the *Perſians*, to whom he had formerly profeſſed ſo much Enmity and Hatred, by putting the *Ballance of Power* in their Hands.

He did not make a much better Bargain for his Country with ſome other of their *Allies*, who owed their Preſervation to *Athens*, and pretended the greateſt Friendſhip for them; yet being in Hopes of an Addition of Power and Wealth, by the Diminution of the Trade of *Athens*, and the Decreaſe of their naval Strength, in Conſequence of it, they very faintly ſupported the Intereſts of the *Athenians*, and remiſsly diſcharged the Obligations of their Alliances.

Pericles, to remedy theſe growing Miſchiefs, endeavoured to gain over to his Intereſt ſome of the neighbouring Powers, by the Propoſition of certain wild and impracticable Projects; ſuch as joining the Forces of *Athens* to theirs, and making new Acceſſions to their Dominions, by altering the Dependencies of ſome of the leſſer Principalities of *Greece*; but this Scheme gained him nothing but Shame and Contempt; ſo that after much Time and Labour had been ſpent in theſe fruitleſs Negotiations, he had Recourſe to the ſame Methods abroad, which he had found ſo very ſucceſsful at home, and backed all his foreign Tranſactions with the Offers of a

round Sum of Money; by which Means he engaged many of the leſſer States of *Greece* to lend their Names, at leaſt, to his *new Alliances*, and kept ſome of the favourite ones in conſtant Pay, under the Pretence of making good their Expences, in keeping Troops to aſſiſt *Athens* upon Occaſion, though they never raiſed one Man more for this Service.

As he could not treat in the ſame Manner with the *greater Powers*, he made his Application to their *Miniſters*, whom he judged by himſelf, and endeavoured that Way to gain them to his Intereſt. Moſt of them took his Money; and, perhaps, excuſed themſelves by their Intentions of neither doing him any Good, nor their Country any Harm; for they only amuſed him with Intelligences of pretended Secrets, many Falſhoods, and Things of little, or no Conſequence.

By this infamous Management, *Athens* was made the common Tributary of all *Greece* and the Neighbouring Powers; not only to the great Waſte of the publick Treaſure; but, what was worſe, theſe mean Condeſcenſions from a *State*, which had for many Ages made ſo conſiderable a Figure in that Part of the World, loſt them all their former Authority, and brought *Athens* into the utmoſt Contempt.

However *Pericles* endeavoured, from Time to Time, to varniſh over the preſent State of

Affairs; continually amusing the People with Assurances of the Successes of his Negotiations abroad; and even the Perplexity of them was of Benefit to him; for it helped to divert the Publick from looking into his Conduct; his Creatures, upon the least Offer at it, crying out that Divisions at Home would give the greatest Encouragement to the common Enemy.

The present Uncertainties gave him likewise some Pretence for supplying his vast Expences, either to carry on Engagements to prevent a War, or for making the necessary Preparations to begin one; and thus Arguments were never wanting to fleece the People, who in vain complained of the great Profusion of the publick Money, without any Account having been given of it by *One*, who had for so many Years the sole and absolute Disposition of their Revenues; whereas it had ever been usual before his Time for the *Prytanis*, who were a *Committee of the Senate*, annually to examine the publick Accounts, in the most solemn Manner, being sworn upon the Altar, before they entered upon that Office, to discharge their Duty with the utmost Impartiality, Fidelity and Justice to their Country.——So careful have all wise Governments ever been to preserve this Branch of the Administration from Corruption; well knowing that without it all other Precautions would be vain and ineffectual to support the Liberties of a *free People*.

As *Pericles* fell under the general Cenſure of the People, on this Account, ſo he did not eſcape being ſeveral Times charged in the *publick Aſſemblies* with the viſible Corruption of his Management; which once went ſo far that *Dracontides*, as *Plutarch* informs us, carried a Reſolution, or Decree, for impeaching him of embezzling the publick Treaſure; but *Agnon*, one of his Creatures, by the Alteration of ſome Words, rendered it ineffectual; and by theſe little Arts and Shifts, which too many of his Dependents in the *Senate* were always ready to countenance and ſupport, he baffled all Endeavours to obtain any Account of the immenſe Sums, which he had ſpent during his Adminiſtration.

But it would have been impoſſible for him to have ſtood the general Clamour and Demand of the People for bringing him to Juſtice, if he had not had Recourſe to a *new Artifice*, which no Miniſter before him had the Aſſurance to attempt. This was a Propoſal for allowing him *ten Talents* for *Secret-Service-Money*; which, though no very great Sum, yet as it was underſtood, and even acknowledged by himſelf, to be the *Wages of Iniquity*, it was giving a publick Sanction to *Corruption*, and was a Precedent, that at once quite overturned all the antient Checks and Controuls, by which their Anceſtors had, in the ſtricteſt Manner, guarded againſt the Embezzlement of publick Money; the Diſpoſal of which was, by this Stroke, put into the

abſolute

absolute Power of him, who was at the *Head of the Treasury*; for under this Cover, he had the most unlimited Scope to supply any Expences, under Pretence of the publick Service.

One would think that nothing more could have been desired to gratify the most insatiable Thirst of Power and Dominion; but such were the extravagant Expences of *Pericles*, in unprofitable Negotiations abroad, and satisfying the craving Importunities of his Dependents at home, who always rose in their Demands in Proportion to the Difficulties, in which they saw him engaged, and the Want he had of their Service, that though he feared no Repulse to the most unreasonable Demand of *new Supplies*, yet being conscious himself of his exorbitant Expences, he began to be ashamed that the People should see what Money he consumed. He therefore resolved to make one bold Step more, to secure himself of a *Fund*, which would at once fully answer his Purposes and conceal his Profusions. This he put in Execution, by seizing upon the *sacred Treasure at* DELOS, which was deposited there by the common Consent of the States of *Greece*, to be kept inviolable, never to be touched but in Case of the utmost Extremity, and that not without their unanimous Advice and Consent.

Such an open Violation of the publick Faith raised the Clamours of all *Greece* upon *Pericles*; which he endeavoured to palliate at

first

first with the Pretence of its being in greater Safety, and the Advantages, that might be made of it, by employing it for the Benefit of the Publick; but when he saw how *few* there were, who had the Virtue or Courage to oppose him, even in this extreme Act of Violence, he grew bolder, in a little Time, and being pressed upon this Article, openly defied them in the *publick Assemblies*, and with the most assuming Arrogance declared, *that the Money, when it was once granted, was no longer theirs, who* gave *it, but theirs, who* received *it*.

He soon after followed this with another Declaration; *that the* Necessities of the State, *of which he was to be the Judge himself*, were above all Laws, *and that nothing was so sacred but that even the Plate and Riches of the Temples might be seized, and Restitution made afterwards*; well knowing that it would not be in his Time, nor any Part of his Concern.

This *great Treasure* being now wholly in the Possession of *Pericles*, he had no farther Trouble than to give such Account of it to the Publick as he thought fit; for any Proposal of *appointing Persons* (as was the antient Custom) *to examine his Books, or count the Talents remaining*, was opposed with the old Cant of distrusting so *virtuous an Administration*, as his Creatures had the Impudence to call it, and forwarding the Designs of the *Enemy*, by raising Divisions at home;

the conſtant Artifice of thoſe, who are engaged in Meaſures deſtructive to their Country, and are ſenſible that their Actions will not bear Examination; whereas, in Truth, no Enemy is ſo dangerous to a *free People* as theſe *domeſtick Spoilers*; for though Nations may, and often have been, laid waſte by *foreign Invaders*; yet many of them have recovered their antient Freedom and Proſperity, as *Athens* itſelf had lately done, after all the Malice of the *Perſian*; whereas Hiſtory affords us no Example of any Nation, that ever regained their Liberties, when they had tamely conſented to the Loſs of them, or infamouſly ſold them to their Governors for the preſent Supply of their *Luxury* and *Vices*; but their unhappy Poſterity have for ever groaned under the Inheritance of Slavery, delivered down to them by their Fore-Fathers. ——But to return to *Pericles*.

His Succeſs, which even exceeded his own Expectations, ſtruck every honeſt *Athenian* dumb with Aſtoniſhment at the continued, abject Compliances of their Fellow-Citizens. *Pericles* now flattered himſelf that his Authority and Power were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as to be out of the Reach of all Accidents. This made him ſo haughty and inſolent, that he became grievous to his *own Creatures*, and the Object of *univerſal Odium*; which was not a little heightened by the growing Neceſſities of the State, and the Poverty of the People; ſo that the former Clamours were again

renewed

renewed with great Warmth and Violence for an Account of the Diſpoſition of the Money, which had been diſſipated during his long and expenſive Adminiſtration. This rouzed his Apprehenſions and threw him into great Perplexities; which his Relation *Alcibiades* taking Notice of one Day, when he was more melancholy than uſual, he aſked him the Reaſon of it. *Pericles* told him that he was conſidering *how to make up his Accounts with the Publick*; to which this *young Profligate* (who gave ſuch an early Inſtance of the Miſchief he was one day to bring upon his Country) replied, that he had much better conſider *how to avoid giving any Account*. Unhappily for *Athens*, he took his *Kinſman's* Advice, and ſeeing no other Way to eſcape and divert the impending Storm from burſting upon himſelf, he choſe to turn it upon his Country, by plunging them into a War with *Sparta*.

The *Spartans*, notwithſtanding the Inclination they had ſhewn to begin the War, yet when Things came near to an Extremity, ſtill expreſſed a Deſire of continuing the Peace; and at laſt offered to deſiſt from it, in Caſe the *Athenians* would conſent to take off the Reſtraint from the Trade of the *Megareans*.

Pericles, in a long Speech, diſſuaded them from accepting the Conditions offered, by telling them, that though this was a Matter of no great Conſequence, (as, in Truth, it was not) yet

yet the Manner, in which it was asked, made it necessary for the Commonwealth to shew their Firmness on this Occasion, in order to support their Honour, and prevent the Attempts of future Impositions upon them, in Matters of greater Concern.

This determined the *venal Assembly* for War, which was soon after begun by the Siege of *Platea*, a strong Town of great Importance, and the only Acquisition of the *Athenians* by all their glorious Successes over the *Persian*; which, however, in the Course of the War, was scandalously neglected by the *Athenians*, and fell a Sacrifice to *Sparta*.

Some Endeavours were used to terminate the War soon after it begun by a *Truce* made for a Year, in order to agree upon *preliminary Articles of Peace*; but they were never settled in such a Manner as to take Effect; and a *Peace*, that was afterwards concluded between them, had little better Success, the Articles being never put in Execution, or complied with on either Side; but the short Time it lasted was spent in breaking and renewing Alliances with their Neighbours in such a Manner, that it would require copying out the *fifth Book of Thucydides* to repeat the mutual Infidelities and Treacheries practised by *Athens* and *Sparta*, during this Cessation, which both Sides were more tired with than the War; and all *Greece*, with the neighbouring Powers, being now one Way or other engaged, it was soon renewed

with the greateſt Animoſity, and at laſt ended in the entire Reduction of *Athens* to the Subjection of *Sparta*; a Fate, which they might in all Probability have eſcaped, if *Pericles* had either had the Honeſty to have preſerved the *Peace*, by forbearing to intermeddle, where he had nothing to do, or the Spirit to have begun the *War* ſooner, before *Athens* was quite exhauſted, and had loſt all Credit abroad by his wretched Management.

It ought however to be remembered, for the Honour of that learned State, that the moſt celebrated Wits and Poets of *Athens* endeavoured to open the Eyes of their Countrymen, and animate them againſt *Pericles*, by expoſing his Conduct in ſatirical Poems and Invectives; but they were too far gone in Luxury and Corruption to recover their antient Spirit, being continually ſoothed in their Vices by a ſet of *profligate Writers*, whom *Pericles* had picked up and employed in his Service. Theſe Fellows were ſo abandoned, that they not only made a Jeſt of *Liberty*, and juſtified all the Methods of arbitrary Government, but put their *Patron* in Competition with *Jupiter* himſelf, and flattered him with the Appellation of *Olympius*, at the ſame Time that he was precipitating the Deſtruction of their Country.

Thus we ſee that the over-grown Power, Ambition, and Corruption of ONE MAN brought Ruin upon the moſt flouriſhing State in the Univerſe; and there are not wanting

Inſtances

Inſtances of the like Kind in Hiſtory to convince us that the ſame Conduct will have the ſame Conſequences in all Ages and all Nations.

I am, SIR, &c.

PHIL-ATHENUS.

ON THE

POWER of the PRINCE,

AND THE

FREEDOM of the PEOPLE.

——*Furono veramente tutti i Rè principio Capi, e non Rè, di Republiche, e non di regni. Ma poi il lungo uſo hà fatto che i Popoli ſi ſiano diſpoſti et anuezzati all' habito dell' intiera ubbidienza, come apunto ſuole aſſuefarſi una pianta, & un corpo humano a viuere, in terreno, e ſotto clime diuerſo dal ſuo naturale.*——

Card. Bentivoglio Relatione delle Prov. unite de Fiandra. Lib. 3.

CARDINAL BENTIVOGLIO, from whoſe Writings I have taken the Motto to this Paper, was a Man on all Accounts little to be ſuſpected of favouring the Cauſe of *Liberty*; much leſs of writing ſtrongly and

boldly for it. But the Love of it is innate in the Mind of every Man; and however we may be depraved by bad Education, however inflamed by Party, Intereſt, or the Spirit of Oppoſition, yet whenever we grow cool, and are not immediately agitated by our Paſſions, that Spirit breaks out, and ſhews itſelf even in thoſe, who are the greateſt Abettors of *arbitrary Power*.

Thus the *Cardinal*, borne down by the Force of Reaſon, and the Influence of this Principle of Nature, expreſſes in this Sentence not only his own Opinion, but that of all Mankind, though private Reaſons may induce many to profeſs themſelves of contrary Sentiments; nor is it impoſſible for ſome Men, weak in their Natures and warm in their Tempers, to be either ſo far ſeduced by the Arguments of deſigning Men, or ſo heated by political Contentions, as even to become in ſome Manner convinced, that they have no natural Right to *Liberty*; and that their Princes are born with a juſt Title to that *arbitrary Power*, which is always the Child of *Fraud*, or *Uſurpation*.

It is our great Happineſs that his preſent Majeſty's Dominion is founded upon a better Title than either the *Jus divinum*, or *hereditary Right*. He owes it purely to the *Voice of the People in Parliament*. He got it by their Favour, and will keep it by their Affection; nor is it leſs for the Advantage of his Family, or for that of the Nation, that

he

he came to the Throne upon these Terms. The Limitations and Conditions, by the due Observance of which he is entitled to it, will serve as a certain Rule to his Posterity, by which if they guide themselves, they may depend upon the Hearts and Purses of their Subjects to all Eternity. His Predecessors had not the same Advantages. They were bred up in a Notion that their *Prerogative* entitled them to do what they pleased; nor were the *Privileges of the People* so firmly ascertained. This occasioned perpetual Jealousies, gave Opportunities for *evil Ministers* to impose upon the *Prince*, and for *seditious Persons* to inflame the *People*. It often gave Rise to unwarrantable Acts of Power; and thus frequently exposed both the *royal Family* and the *Nation* to the utmost Confusion.

Machiavel, in his political Discourses, lays down this Position; *that no Government can long enjoy* Liberty, *unless it be frequently brought back to its first Principles*. It is the Nature of all Government to degenerate. As it grows older, it gradually deviates and flies farther from its first Intention, which is singly the Advantage of Society; till at last it attains such a Degree of Corruption, that its Order becomes entirely inverted; and that Institution, by which the *Prince* was first only the *Servant of the Publick*, obliges the *Publick* to be *Slaves to the Prince*. For this Reason he recommends a frequent Renewal of the Constitution. The various Revolu-

tions in this Kingdom have, in a great Meafure, anfwered this End. They have purged off the Luxuriances of Power; and though few of them have gone fo deep as to bring us back to the primitive Purity of our Conftitution, yet they have ftill preferved us a *free People*, when *Liberty* is loft in almoft every other Part of *Europe*.

The *laft Revolution* has done more for us than any of the reft. I would not be underftood to fpeak of that, which was brought about in Favour of our great Deliverer the *Prince of Orange*. I mean that, by which the *prefent royal Family* were feated upon the Throne. This happy Change in our Government, though it is not marked out by any fuch Appellation, is the moft important we have had. It has amounted within a few Degrees of that Reduction to the *firft Principles of Government*, which *Machiavel* recommends. Our Conftitution has received a new Spring from it; and had we taken Care to guard againft a few Inconveniences, as we might have done, or ufed the fame Caution to prevent *new Dangers*, as to redrefs *old Grievances*, our Liberties had been delivered down to our Pofterity, after a thoufand Years, more fecure and with a greater Profpect of long Duration, than at the very Beginning of the Commonwealth.

The Sentence prefixed to this Paper contains an Account of the firft Powers, with which Princes were invefted. It alledges,

that

that the present Power of unlimited Monarchs owes its Rise only to an Abuse of the first Trust reposed in Them; to which (though repugnant to human Nature) by gradual Steps and long Use, Men were insensibly habituated. The original State of Monarchy is justly described very different from what it is now in all arbitrary Governments. *Kings were then no more than Chiefs, or principal Magistrates, in States Republican and free.*

It ought to give every *Englishman* the greatest Satisfaction to find the *Constitution* we now live under, since its last Renewal, bearing so near a Resemblance to *primitive Liberty*. Our Princes are now, in a great Measure, upon the same Foot with *these Chiefs*, or *principal Magistrates of old*. They have Authority given them to defend the *Laws of the Land*, but not to break them. They have too lately received their Crown from the Hands of the Nation to forget that it is to them only they owe it, and that consequently they can be entitled to no Powers but what are granted by them. The People must still remember that their own Hands adorned the Temples of their Kings, and can have Recourse to *known and positive Laws*, if *Privilege* and *Prerogative* should ever clash. They are no longer to be abused by the Sound of Words; nor will they suffer themselves any longer to be duped into an Opinion, because most of those, who have enjoyed the Title of *King*, have also enjoyed an *arbitrary*

Sway, that therefore *regal Authority* muſt inevitably import an *abſolute Dominion*. They juſtly look upon this Word as one of the many, which have different Meanings; and ſignifies with us no other than a *third Eſtate*, ſuperior to every Individual, yet inferior to the collective Body of the People, whoſe Advantage and Proſperity were the only Cauſes of its Exiſtence.

The *Act of Settlement* has obtained all theſe great Advantages for us. *That Compact between Prince and People*, which has been formerly treated by ſome Perſons as a mere Chimæra, is now no longer to be diſputed. In *that Act* are contained certain Stipulations and Conditions, under which the *Prince* has conſented to accept, and by which Tenure only he holds his Crown. By theſe Means every Subject in the Nation may know the preciſe Extent of his *Prince*'s Power, and the Meaſures of his *own Allegiance*; how far and how long he is bound to obey.

It would be tedious to enumerate the many wiſe and prudent Reſtrictions of this our ſecond *Magna Charta*. I ſhall only mention *two of the fundamental Points in this publick Act*, which ſufficiently evince the Care and Zeal, with which the *Parliament*, on this Occaſion, purſued the Intereſt of the Nation. They even ſeem, if we may judge from what has ſince happened, to have carried their Caution beyond the Bounds of abſolute Neceſſity, or Prudence. Being apprized that the

Dominions of the *present royal Family* were very considerable abroad, and not knowing how far their Tenderness for their native Country might carry them to the Prejudice of this Kingdom, they made *these two Points* the principal Conditions of their Government; *first, that the King should never leave his* British *Dominions without Consent of Parliament; and secondly, that he should never engage* England *in any Broils relating to his foreign Territories.* I think I may venture to say, without any Reflection upon the Prudence of the Parliament, who insisted upon *these Conditions*, that they were upon this Occasion, a little deficient in *good Manners*; but this Error may be forgiven, as it proceeded from their Zeal, and we have since corrected it, by abandoning *those two Points*, of which I have been speaking; the *first* soon after his late Majesty's Accession to the Throne; the *other* not long ago, in that just, honourable, and ever-memorable Resolution of the House of Commons, by which we engaged *to support and maintain his Majesty's* German *Dominions, with the utmost Efforts of* Great-Britain.

The remaining Articles of the *Act of Settlement* are of such a Nature, that we have no Reason to fear they will be dispensed with. I have already shewn how much it is the Interest of the *Prince*, as well as the *People*, to maintain them. I have mentioned many Advantages arising from a Settlement esta-

bliſhed on the Foot of *Liberty*. They are ſuch, that I think any Man, who endeavours to raiſe the *Prerogative* one Step higher than it ſtands at preſent, or even argues in Favour of ſuch Conduct, either with a View to ſeduce the *People*, or to ingratiate himſelf with his *Prince*, is the worſt of Traitors, and deſerves the Curſe and Hatred of the whole Community.

Sir *William Temple*, in his Obſervations upon the *Dutch Republick*, made this judicious Remark.——" That this ſtomachful " People, who could not endure the leaſt " Exerciſe of arbitrary Power, or Impoſi- " tions, under the *Spaniſh Government*, have " been ſince inured to digeſt them in the " higheſt Degree, under their own *popular* " *Magiſtrates*; bridled with *hard Laws*; " terrified with *ſevere Executions*; environ- " ed with *foreign Forces*; and oppreſſed " with the moſt *cruel Hardſhips*, and *Va-* " *riety of Taxes*, that was ever known un- " der any Government."

The Reaſon of this great and general Content, under the moſt ſevere Oppreſſion, was only this; that they found every one ſubject to the *ſame Law*. The *Perſons in the Adminiſtration* could make no Advantage from the publick Calamities. On the contrary, they felt the Weight of the publick Misfortunes more heavily than thoſe, who had leſs Intereſt in the general Welfare. It was never obſerved in that Country, that the

principal

principal Men in the Commonwealth encreaſed in Riches, in Proportion as the Country grew poorer, or the Publick laboured under heavier Taxes. Theſe Evils were well guarded againſt by their Conſtitution; and therefore they conſidered all their Misfortunes as a wiſe and juſt Regulation of Providence for ſome important Ends, which conſequently they never repined at.

The *Hanover Succeſſion* under the Limitations, which I have mentioned, and on which it is founded, has obtained, in a great Meaſure, theſe Advantages for us. The *Prince* himſelf is now ſubject to the *Law*, and the *Act of Settlement* binds him equally with the *meaneſt Peaſant*.

The Benefits of this excellent Eſtabliſhment are not ſo eaſily diſcovered, 'till ſome Abuſes happen. But if ever a *weak* and *corrupt Adminiſtration* ſhould ariſe; if an *evil Miniſter* ſhould embezzle the publick Treaſure; if he ſhould load the Nation, in Times of Peace, with Taxes greater than would be neceſſary to defray the Charge of an expenſive War; if the Money thus raiſed ſhould be expended, under the Pretence of *ſecret Services*, to line his own Pockets; to ſtop the Mouths of his hungry Dependents; to bribe ſome future Parliament to approve his Meaſures; and to patch up an ill-digeſted, baſe, diſhonourable Peace with foreign Powers, whom he ſhall have offended by a continued Series of Provocations and Blunders; if he

ſhould adviſe his Sovereign to make it a Maxim, that his Security conſiſted in the Continuance, or Increaſe of the *publick Debts*, and that his Grandeur was founded on the *Poverty of his Subjects*; if he ſhould hazard the Affections of the People, by procuring greater Revenues for the *Crown*, than they ſhould be able to ſpend, or the People be well able to raiſe; and after this engage his Prince to demand ſtill farther Sums as his Right, which all Men ſhould be ſenſible were not his Due; I ſay, if the Nation ſhould ever fall under theſe unhappy Circumſtances, they will then find the Excellence of a *free Conſtitution*. The publick Diſcontent, which upon ſuch Occaſions has formerly burſt forth in a Torrent of Blood, of univerſal Confuſion and Deſolation, will make itſelf known only in faint Murmurs, and dutiful general Complaints. The Nation will wait long, before they engage in any deſperate Meaſures, that may endanger a Conſtitution, which they juſtly adore, and from which they confidently expect a ſure, though perhaps a dilatory Juſtice, upon *ſuch an enormous Offender*.

Theſe are the ineſtimable Advantages of our *preſent, happy Settlement*. Let us prize it as we ought. Let us not have the worſe Opinion of the Thing itſelf, becauſe it may, in ſome Inſtances, be abuſed. But let us retain the higheſt Veneration for it. Let us remember

remember how much it is our Right, and let us resolve to preserve it untainted and inviolate. Thus shall we truly serve our *King*; we shall do our Duty to our *Country*; and preserve ourselves in the Condition, for which all Men were originally designed; that is, of a *free People*.

Of the CONSTITUTION of GREAT-BRITAIN.

IT is pleasant to observe a Set of Writers charging others with forming *Republican Schemes*, when they themselves are the Persons, who in Effect, and by the necessary Consequence of their Way of Reasoning, have been placing our *excellent Constitution* in a most ridiculous and contemptible Light. According to them, it is no better than a Jumble of incompatible Powers, which would separate and fall to Pieces of themselves, unless restrained and upheld by such honourable Methods as those of *Bribery* and *Corruption*; for how is it possible for any Man, under any other Notion, to plead for the

the Neceſſity, or for the Fitneſs of *Places*, and *Penſions*, or any *pecuniary Influence* among the Members of the *Houſe of Commons?* If any *Dependance* or *Biaſs*, created by *ſuch Motives*, were really neceſſary, it would prove that the *Form of our Government* itſelf was defective to a Degree of Ridiculouſneſs; that it was a *Conſtitution*, having a *Repreſentative of the People*, which muſt be engaged *not to repreſent them*; nor to vote and act, as they would vote and act, if uninfluenced by *private Intereſt*, or *corrupt Motives*. Now, if *ſuch an Influence*, or *Dependence*, was univerſal and unlimited throughout the *whole Houſe*, the Monarchy would be *abſolute*, and whenever *this Influence* prevails in any Degree, it tends to *arbitrary Power*. For this Reaſon, the true Friends of *Liberty* muſt perpetually guard againſt *ſuch Influences*; which is not ſetting up a *new Form of Government*, but preſerving the *old*.

Our *Conſtitution* may, in ſome Senſe, be ſaid to be a fleeting Thing, which at different Times hath differed from itſelf, as Men differ from themſelves in Age and Youth, or in Sickneſs and Health; but ſtill it is the ſame, and it is our Duty to preſerve it, as far as we are able, in its full Strength and Vigour. I don't know a more uſeful Turn of Mind, and what will contribute more to this End, than that, which diſpoſeth us to obſerve the ſeveral *Changes* in our *Conſtitution*; the *Cauſes*,

Cauſes, which have produced them; and the *Conſequences* attending them. I don't pretend, for my Part, to enter far into this Subject; but will only offer ſome few Obſervations on what hath happened of that Kind, during the Reigns of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE; and I leave it to other Pens to remark farther back, or to continue ſuch Remarks farther on.

At the Time of the *Revolution*, our *Conſtitution* received a conſiderable Strength by *that Act*, which is called the *Declaration of Rights*; by which, we hope, an End is put to the dangerous Claims and Practices of ſome *former Reigns*; ſuch as that of a Power in the Crown to *diſpenſe with the Execution of the Laws*, as alſo that of keeping up a *ſtanding Army in Time of Peace without Conſent of Parliament*; and ſome other Particulars, which are contained in *that Act*. I don't reckon that we obtained any Thing *new* by it; any Thing, that was not our juſt Right before; nor does it provide ſuch *Remedies* for us, or ſuch *Penalties* for the Offenders againſt it, as might have been contrived; yet it is an Advantage to have that expreſly declared and acknowledged to be *our Right*, which had once been brought, how unjuſtly ſoever, into Diſpute.

About five or ſix Years after this, we obtained the *Triennial Act*; which was an additional Security to our *Liberties*; for though it may ſeem, from the Reaſon of Things

and antient Usage, that *Parliaments* ought to have been either *annual*, or to continue no longer than till the *particular Business*, for which they were summoned, was finished; yet, by the Precedents made of the *long Continuance of the same Parliament*, in the Reigns of *Charles* the *first* and *second*, it was become fit and requisite to enact, by an express Law, that there should be a *new one*, at least, once in *three Years*. It may, perhaps, be wondered that this was not taken Care of in the *Declaration of Rights*; for though it is declared that *Parliaments ought to be held frequently*; (by which might not improperly be understood *new Parliaments*) yet, in a Matter of such Importance, one might have expected more clear and positive Expressions. The only Reason I can assign for this is, that *that Declaration* was chiefly intended to assert and assure to us *those Rights*, which had been invaded by King *James*. Now, that of holding the *same Parliament for a long Term* was no Part of the Complaints against his Government; since during his short Reign he called but *one Parliament*, and that he dissolved abruptly at their *second Sessions*.

But I proceed to mention those *other Acts* which King *William* passed, for securing to us *free Parliaments*, and consequently our *Constitution* and *Liberties*. There was one, to prevent *double* and *false Returns*; another to prevent *Bribery*; another to prohibit *Commissioners of the Excise sitting in the House*; and

and by a Clauſe in an *Act* of the 12th of his Reign, which is the *Act of Settlement*, it was provided that after his Deceaſe, and the Deceaſe of the then Princeſs *Anne*, no Perſon, who had *any Office, or Place of Profit, under the King, or received any Penſion from the Crown, ſhould be capable of ſerving as a Member of the Houſe of Commons*. The paſſing *thoſe Laws* was certainly giving Strength and Security to our *Liberties*, in the moſt important and eſſential Article; for the Freedom and Independency of *this Aſſembly* is undeniably the Support of them all, and upon which the Fabrick of our whole Conſtitution depends. The *Members of this Houſe* are the Truſtees and Guardians of all we have, and of all our Poſterity.

I will add one Inſtance more of the Advantage, accruing to the Cauſe of *Liberty*, under the Reign of that *glorious Deliverer of our Country*. What I mean is, his complying with the Deſire of his *People* and *Parliament*, in reducing the Number of the *ſtanding Forces in England* to about 7000 Men. Thus we ſee that as, by the coming in of King *William*, our *Religion* and *Liberties* were preſerved from the Deſigns and Projects then on Foot to deſtroy *both*; ſo, by his ſucceeding Reign, he farther ſtrengthened and ſecured them to us by *good Laws*. I cannot help thinking, that whenever it ſhall be thought proper to ſet up an equeſtrian Statue

to

to the Memory of *that Prince*, an Inscription ought to be engraven on the Pedestal in these, or such like Words.—*To the immortal Memory of King* WILLIAM *the third, who by an hazardous and glorious Enterprize preserved the* British *Nation from the imminent Danger of* Popery *and* Slavery; *and afterwards with more Glory, as securing us for the future is doing a far greater Good than only once preventing a present Danger, he confirmed and strengthened its Liberties by such excellent Laws as the* TRIENNIAL ACT, *and that of the* 12*th of his Reign, entitled an Act for the* FARTHER LIMITATION *of the Crown, and better securing* THE RIGHTS *and* LIBERTIES *of the Subject.*

It can be no Objection against setting up such a Memorial of *those Laws*, that the *first* of them is repealed, and that the *Clause abovementioned in the other* is repealed likewise; for though, in Deference to the Wisdom of the *Legislature*, we suppose that the *Repeal* was for *good Reasons*, with Regard to the Time, in which they were repealed; yet we may affirm that the *enacting of them*, at the Time they were enacted, was for *good Reasons* too, and such as arise from a Consideration of the Nature of *Government*, the Principles of *Liberty*, and Precedents in *free States*.

I was induced to mention these Things at present, because *some Persons* are often calling upon and defying People to instance any *one Article of Liberty*, or *Security for Liberty*, which

which we once had, and do not ſtill hold and enjoy. I deſire Leave to aſk them, whether *long Parliaments* are the ſame Thing as having *frequent Elections*.—Is the Circumſtance of having *almoſt two hundred Members of the Houſe of Commons* veſted with Offices or Places under the Crown, the ſame Thing as having a *Law*, that would have *excluded all Perſons, who hold Places, from ſitting there?*—Is an Army of above 17,000 Men, at the Expence of 850,000*l. per Ann.* for the Service of *Great Britain*, the ſame Thing as an Army of 7000 Men, at the Expence of 350,000 *l. per Annum* for *England*; and I will ſuppoſe there might be about 3000 Men more for *Scotland?*—Is the *Riot-Act*, which eſtabliſhes *Paſſive-Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance* by a Law, even in Caſes of the utmoſt Extremity, the ſame Thing as leaving the People at Liberty to redreſs themſelves, when they are grievouſly oppreſſed, and thereby oblige the Prince, in ſome Meaſure, to depend on *their Affections?*

But to return from whence I have digreſſed, and paſs to the next Reign. In that of Queen *Anne* a very expenſive War againſt *France* involved the Nation in a heavy Debt, (which I hope will be a Warning to us from engaging haſtily in another) and occaſioned the granting ſeveral *Duties* and *Taxes*, which are received by the *Crown*, and charged as Funds to pay Intereſt on ſeveral great Sums, that have been borrowed. This Circumſtance is certainly of

no Advantage to the Caufe of *Liberty*, as it makes the *Crown* the immediate Steward and Receiver of the annual Income of near *fifty Millions of the People's Property*; befides increafing its Influence and Weight by the vaft Number of *Officers*, employed in collecting, overfeeing and paying *thefe Funds and Revenues*. I muft farther add, that there was a *Claufe in an Act of Parliament* repealed in this Reign, which till then had been highly valued, as what would tend very much to the Security of our *Liberties*. I mean *that Claufe of the 12th of King William* above-mentioned, by Virtue of which, after the Deceafe of the *Queen*, no Perfon having any *Place* could fit in the *Houfe of Commons*. I mention this without any Defign to caft the leaft Reflection on *that excellent Princefs*, who paffed many *good Laws* for the Security of *Liberty*, as will appear from what I am going to mention; for by the *fame Act*, in which *that Claufe* was repealed, there was *another* inferted, by which all Perfons, holding the feveral *Offices* therein fpecified, were incapacitated from fitting in the *Houfe of Commons*; as well as all Perfons, holding any *new Places*, created fince 1705. By the *fame Act* all Perfons, who, after their Election into Parliament, fhall accept any *Office of Profit* whatfoever under the *Crown*, (except in the *Army* or *Navy*) are declared incapable of fitting in the Houfe, unlefs *re-elected*.——In confenting to *thefe Claufes*, her Majefty gave us immediate Poffeffion

ſeſſion of the Benefit of them; whereas that of the 12th of King *William*, though it was more extenſive, yet was not to take Place till a Time remote, and ſo was repealed before it came in Force. In the 5th Year of her Reign, ſhe paſſed the *Qualification-Act*, which requires that every Member for a Borough ſhall have 300 *l. per Annum*, and for a County 600 *l. per Annum*; a Law, which was intended to confine the Election to ſuch Perſons as are *independent in their Circumſtances*; have a valuable Stake in the *Land*; and muſt therefore be the moſt ſtrongly engaged to conſult the *publick Good*, and leaſt liable to *Corruption*. *This Law* has been of great Service to us, and is ſo ſtill; though far from being effectual: but it would be in a great Meaſure needleſs, if we were once made ſecure againſt *Bribery at Elections*, and *Corruption after Elections*; becauſe the People, when left to themſelves, would naturally chuſe the chief and beſt Sort of the Gentry to repreſent them.

But I propoſe, as I ſaid before, to purſue theſe Kind of Remarks no farther than *thoſe two Reigns*. I will only add, that if any Part of theſe *good Laws*, which ſtill ſubſiſt, and were formed for the Preſervation of the *Freedom of Parliaments*, have not their due Force, by Reaſon of ſome *concealed Evaſions*, which in Length of Time may have been found out; what can be more reaſonable than to apply an effectual Remedy? Is it not of a hundred

Times more Consequence to prevent *such Evasions* than any *little Frauds in the Customs*? If the Laws formerly contrived, for securing to us *free Parliaments* and *frequent Elections*, have been repealed; it is natural to desire that a proper Opportunity may offer itself for recovering what we once enjoyed by *express Law*, as well as by the Nature of our *Constitution*. And farther, if the *publick Debts* are such an Incumbrance and Embarrassment to us, that we could not engage with Vigour in a War, even upon *our own Account*, and for *our own immediate Interests*, if Occasion required, or if they are so circumstanced, that they may render our *Liberties* less secure; what can be more fit and reasonable than to make Use of the Means we have in our Hands to lessen *these Debts*, by managing the national Expence with all possible Frugality, and shunning all Occasions of increasing them? Sure, no *good Ally* can expect that we should act for *his Interest*, with less Caution than we use for *our own*; or that we should be more quick in making Reprisals upon the Aggressors against *him*, than we are upon those against *ourselves*!

If the *ministerial Advocates* would be thought to have any Sense of *Liberty*, or *Revolution-Principles*, left unextinguished in their Breasts, let them come fairly to *these Points*, without Sophistry, or Prevarication; but if, instead of this, they are resolved to drudge on in their old Road of calling *Jacobite* and *Republican*, they must expect to continue

in

in the ſame Contempt they are at preſent, and only make their *Patron* ridiculous, as well as themſelves.

I am, SIR, &c.

The FREEHOLDER's POLITICAL CATECHISM.

I have lately read a little Piece, intitled, *The Freeholder's political Catechiſm*; and as the Duty to our Country is next to our Duty to God, I think it ought to be ſpread into as many Hands as poſſible, at this Juncture. I ſhall preſent my Country Readers with thoſe Parts of it, which relate immediately to the *Britiſh Conſtitution* and the *Liberty of the Subject*.

Extracts from the FREEHOLDER's POLITICAL CATECHISM.

QUESTION.

WHO are You?

Anſwer. I am *T. M.* a Freeholder of *Great-Britain.*

Q. *What Privilege enjoyeſt thou by being a Freeholder of* Great-Britain?

A. By being a Freeholder of *Great-Britain,*

tain, I am a greater Man in my civil Capacity than the greatest Subject of an arbitrary Prince; because I am governed by Laws, to which I give my Consent; and my Life, Liberty, and Goods cannot be taken from me, but according to those Laws. I am a Freeman.

Q. *Who gave thee this Liberty?*

A. No Man gave it me. *Liberty* is the natural Right of every human Creature. He is born to the Exercise of it, as soon as he has attained to that of his Reason; but that my *Liberty* is preserved to me, when lost to a great Part of Mankind, is owing under God to the Wisdom and Valour of my Ancestors, Freeholders of this Realm.

Q. *Wherein does this* Liberty, *which thou enjoyest, consist?*

A. In *Laws* made by the Consent of the People, and the due Execution of *those Laws*. I am free not *from the Law*, but *by the Law*.

Q. *Wilt thou stand fast in* this Liberty, *whereunto thou art born and entitled by the Laws of thy Country?*

A. Yes verily, by God's Grace, I will; and I thank his good Providence that I am born a Member of a Community governed by *Laws*, and not by *arbitrary Power*.

Q. *What dost thou think incumbent upon thee, to secure this Blessing to thyself and Posterity?*

A. As I am a *Freeholder*, I think it incumbent upon me to believe aright concerning

ing the fundamental Articles of the Government, to which I am ſubject; to write, ſpeak, and act on all Occaſions conformably to this orthodox Faith; to oppoſe, with all the Powers of my Body and Mind, ſuch as are Enemies of our good Conſtitution, together with all their ſecret and open Abettors, and to be obedient to the King the ſupreme Magiſtrate of the Society.

Q. *Rehearſe unto me the Articles of thy political Creed?*

A. I believe that the ſupreme, or legiſlative Power of this Realm, reſides in the *King, Lords*, and *Commons*; that his Majeſty King *George* the *ſecond* is Sovereign, or ſupreme Executor of the Law; to whom, upon that Account, all Loyalty is due; that *each of the three Members of the Legiſlature* are endowed with their particular Rights, and Offices; that the *King*, by his royal Prerogative, has the Power of determining and appointing the Time and Place of the Meeting of Parliaments; that the Conſent of *King, Lords*, and *Commons* is neceſſary to the Being of a Law, and all the *three* make but *one Lawgiver*; that as to the Freedom of Conſent in making of Laws, thoſe *three Powers* are *independent*; and that each and all the *three* are bound to obſerve the Laws that are made.

Q. *Why is the legiſlative Power ſupreme?*

A. Becauſe what gives Law to all, muſt be ſupreme.

Q. *What meaneſt thou by* Loyalty to the King?

A. I have

A. I have heard that *Loy* ſignifies Law; and Loyalty *Obedience*, according to *Law*; therefore he, who pays this Obedience, is a loyal Subject; and he, who executes the King's Commands, when contrary to *Law*, is diſloyal and a Traitor.

Q. *Is it not in the Law, that the King can do no Wrong?*

A. It is; for ſince *Kings* do not act immediately by themſelves, but mediately by their *Officers*, and *inferior Magiſtrates*; the Wiſdom of the Law provides ſufficiently againſt any undue Exerciſe of their Power, by charging all illegal Acts, and all Kinds of Male-Adminiſtration upon their *Miniſters*; by the great Regard, which is paid to the *King* by this Maxim, laying him under an indiſputable Obligation not to ſcreen his *Miniſters* from publick Juſtice, or publick Enquiry.

Q. *What do'ſt thou mean by the* royal Prerogative?

A. A diſcretionary Power in the *King* to act for the *Good of the People*, where the *Laws* are ſilent, never *contrary to Law*, and always ſubject to the *Limitations of the Law*.

Q. *Is not then the* King above the Laws?

A. By no Means; for the Intention of Government being the Security of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Members of the Community, they never can be ſuppoſed, by the Law of Nature, to give an *arbitrary Power* over their Perſons and Eſtates. *King*

is a Title, which, tranſlated into ſeveral Languages, ſignifies a Magiſtrate with as many different Degrees of Power, as there are Kingdoms in the World; and he can have no Power but what is given him by *Law*; yea, even the *ſupreme*, or *legiſlative Power* is bound, by the Rules of Equity, to govern by *Laws* enacted, and publiſhed in due Form; for what is not *legal* is *arbitrary*.

Q. *How comes it that thoſe, who endeavour to deſtroy the Authority and Independence of any of the Branches of the Legiſlature, ſubvert the Conſtitution?*

A By the fundamental Laws of the Conſtitution, the free and impartial Conſent of *each of the three Members* is neceſſary to the Being of a Law; therefore if the Conſent of any of the *three* is wilfully omitted, or obtained by *Terror* or *Corruption*, the Legiſlature is violated; and inſtead of *three* there may be really and effectually but *one Branch of the Legiſlature*.

Q. *Can'ſt thou illuſtrate this by any Example?*

A. The *royal Authority* and that of the *Houſe of Peers* were both deſtroyed by the *Houſe of Commons*, and by a ſmall Part of that, in the late civil War; ſo that the very Form of Government was annihilated.

Q. *Can you give me an Inſtance where the* Form of Government *may be kept, and yet the* Conſtitution *deſtroyed?*

A. Yes. The Forms of the free Govern-

ment

ment of *Rome* were preserved under the arbitrary Government of the *Emperors*. There was a *Senate*, *Consuls*, and *Tribunes of the People*; as one might say *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*; and yet the Government under the *Emperors* was always *despotick*, and often *tyrannical*; and indeed the worst of all Governments is *Tyranny* sanctified by the Appearance of *Law*.

Q. *By what Means fell* that great People *into this State of Slavery?*

A. I have read the *Roman* History, and by what I can judge, it was by *Faction, Corruption, and standing Armies.*

Q. *All these Things might happen to* Romans; *but did ever* any Parliament of this Nation *give up the Liberty of the People?*

A. Yes. A packed Parliament, in *Richard* the *second's* Time, established by a Law the *King's arbitrary Power*, and with Leave to name a *Commission with Parliamentary Authority*. Parliaments, in *Henry* the *eighth's* Time, were Slaves to his Passions, and One gave the King a *legislative Authority*. And there are many Instances of *Parliaments* making dangerous Steps towards the Destruction of the Liberty of the People.

Q. *Who were the English Monarchs, who were the most indulgent to the Liberties of the People?*

A. The great King *Alfred*, who declared *that the* English Nation *was as free as the Thoughts of Man*; the glorious Monarchs, *Edward*

Edward the *first*, *Edward* the *third*, and *Henry* the *fifth*, who would not let his People ſwear to him till he had an Opportunity of ſwearing to them, at his Coronation; and the immortal Queen *Elizabeth*, who declared it by Law *High Treaſon*, during her Life, and a *Premunire* afterwards, *to deny the Power of* Parliament *in limiting and binding the Deſcent, or Inheritance of the Crown, or the Claim to it.*

Q. *When were thoſe ſlaviſh Maxims of* hereditary, indefeazible Right, *and* Prerogative, *ſuperior to* Law, *firſt introduced?*

A. In the Time of *James* the *firſt*; who, by endeavouring to eſtabliſh them, laid the Foundation of all the Miſeries, which have ſince happened to his Family; and it is the greateſt Security to the preſent Branch of it, that *ſuch Doctrines*, which ſow the Seeds of Jealouſy between the *King* and his *People*, are by the preſent Eſtabliſhment quite exploded.

Q. *What do'ſt thou learn from thoſe Hiſtories?*

A. That a *King* of this Realm, in the full Poſſeſſion of the *Affections of his People*, is greater than any *arbitrary Prince*; and that the Nation can never be effectually undone but by a *wicked Parliament*; and laſtly, to be thankful to God, that, under our preſent moſt gracious King, our *Conſtitution* is preſerved entire, though at the ſame Time there are many Circumſtances, which call loudly for Vigilance.

Q. *What*

Q. *What are those?*

A. Such as have been the Fore-runners and Causes of the Loss of Liberty in other Countries; Decay of *Virtue* and *publick Spirit, Luxury* and *Extravagance in Expence, Venality* and *Corruption*, in private and publick Affairs.

Q. *How comes there to be a Decay of* publick Spirit, *when there is more than usual a Desire to* serve the Publick?

A. If a Desire to *live upon the Publick* be a *publick Spirit*, there is enough of it at this Time; when *Extravagance* makes People crave more, and the Administration of a *publick Revenue* (perhaps treble what it was before the *Revolution*) enables the *Crown* to give more than formerly.

Q. *What do'st thou fear from this?*

A. That such as serve the Crown for *Reward* may in Time sacrifice the Interest of their Country to their *Wants*; that Greediness of *public Money* may produce a slavish Complaisance, as long as the *Crown* can pay; and Mutiny, when it cannot; and, in general, that Motives of *Self-Interest* will prove an improper and weak Foundation for our Duty to our King and Country.

Q. *What wouldst thou do for thy Country?*

A. I would die to procure its Prosperity; and I would rather that my Posterity were cut off, than that they should be Slaves; but as Providence at present requires none of these

Sacrifices,

Sacrifices, I content myſelf to diſcharge the ordinary Duties of my Station, and to exhort my Neighbours to do the ſame.

Q. *What are the Duties of your Station?*

A. To endeavour, as far as I am able, to preſerve the publick Tranquillity; and, as I am a *Freeholder*, to give my Vote for the Candidate whom I judge moſt worthy to ſerve his Country; for if from any partial Motive I ſhould give my Vote for one unworthy, I ſhould think myſelf juſtly chargeable with his Guilt.

Q. *Thou haſt perhaps but one Vote of five hundred, and the Member perhaps one of five hundred more; then your Share of the Guilt is but ſmall.*

A. As he, who aſſiſts at a *Murder*, is guilty of *Murder*, ſo he, who acts the loweſt Part in the *enſlaving his Country*, is guilty of a much greater Crime than *Murder*.

Q. *Is enſlaving one's Country a greater Crime than Murder?*

A. Yes; inaſmuch as the Murder of human Nature is a greater Crime than the Murder of a human Creature; or as he, who debaſeth and rendereth miſerable the Race of Mankind, is more wicked than he, who cutteth off an Individual.

Q. *Why is enſlaving Mankind murdering human Nature?*

A. Becauſe Mankind in a State of Slavery and Freedom is a different Sort of Creature; for Proof of this I have read what the

Greeks were of old, and what they are now in a State of Slavery.

Q. *What is become of the Heroes, Philosophers, Orators, and free Citizens of* Greece?

A. They are now Slaves to the *great Turk.*

Q. *What is become of the* Scipio's *and* Cato's *of* Rome ?

A. They sing now on the *English* Stage.

Q. *Does not the Tranquillity, occasioned by* absolute Monarchy, *make the Country thrive?*

A. Peace and Plenty are not the genuine Fruits of *absolute Monarchy*; for *absolute Monarchies* are more subject to Convulsions than *free Governments*, and Slavery turneth the fruitful Plains into a Desart; whereas *Liberty*, like the Dew from Heaven, fructifieth the barren Mountains. This I have learned from Travellers, who have visited Countries in both Conditions; therefore, as I said before, I should reckon myself guilty of the greatest Crime human Nature is capable of, if I were any Ways accessary to the enslaving my Country. Though I have but *one Vote*, many Units make a Number; and if *every Elector* should reason after the same Manner, that he has but *one*, what must become of the whole? A *Law* of great Consequence, and the Election of the *Member*, who voteth for *that Law*, may be both carried by *one Vote*. Great and important Services for the Liberties of their Country have been done by *ordinary Men.* I have read that

that the Inſtitution of the *Tribunes of Rome*, or the whole Power of the *Commons*, was owing to a Word ſpoke in Seaſon by a *common Man*.

Q. *Is it not lawful then to take a* Bribe *from a Perſon otherwiſe worthy to ſerve his Country?*

A. No more than for a *Judge* to take a Bribe for a *righteous Sentence*; nor is it any more lawful to *corrupt*, than to *commit Evil that Good may come of it*. *Corruption* converts a good Action into Wickedneſs. *Bribery* of all Sorts is contrary to the Law of God; it is a heinous Sin, often puniſhed with the ſevereſt Judgments; it involves in it the Sin of Perjury, as the Law ſtands now; and is beſides the greateſt Folly and Madneſs.

Q. *How is it contrary to the Law of God?*

A. The Law of God ſaith expreſly, *Thou ſhalt not wreſt Judgment; thou ſhalt not take a Gift.* If it is a Sin in a *Judge*, it is much more in a *Law-giver*, or an *Elector*; becauſe the Miſchiefs occaſioned by the *firſt* reach only to Individuals; That of the laſt may affect whole Nations, and even the Generations to come. The *Pſalmiſt*, deſcribing the Wicked, ſaith, *his Right Hand is full of Bribes*. The *Prophet*, deſcribing the Righteous, tells us, *he ſhaketh his Hands from holding a Bribe*. *Samuel*, juſtifying his Innocence, appeals to the People, *of whoſe Hands have I taken a Bribe?* Then as to divine Vengeance, holy *Job* tells us, *that God ſhall*

deſtroy

destroy the Tabernacle of Bribery. Achan's Avarice, who had appropriated to his own Use the Golden Wedge and the *Babylonish* Garment, brought the Judgment of God upon the whole People, so that they fled before their Enemies, till the Criminal was discovered and stoned to Death. The Leprosy adhered to *Gehazi* (the Servant of *Elisha)* and his House for ever, for taking a Bribe from *Naaman,* a rich Minister of a great Prince. Therefore he, that taketh a *Bribe,* may justly expect what is threatened in holy Writ; *He shall not prosper in his Way, neither shall his Substance continue; his Silver and Gold shall not be able to deliver him in the Day of the Wrath of the Lord.*

Q. *Why is he, that taketh a* Bribe, *guilty of the Sin of Perjury?*

A. Because he sweareth,

I A. B. * *do swear* (or being one of the People called Quakers, *I* A. B. *do solemnly affirm) I have not received, or had by myself, or any other Person whatsoever in Trust for me, or for my Use or Benefit, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place or Employment, Gift or Reward, or any Promise or Security for any Money, Office, Employment or Gift, in order to give my Vote at this Election; and that I have not before been poll'd at this Election.*

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* *This Oath is enjoined by the late glorious Act, for preventing Bribery and Corruption at Elections.*

Q. *What thinkeſt thou of thoſe, who are bribed by Gluttony and Drunkenneſs?*

A. That they are viler than *Eſau*, who ſold his Birth-right for a *Meſs of Porridge.*

Q. *Why is taking a* Bribe *Folly, or Madneſs?*

A. Becauſe I muſt refund Ten-fold in *Taxes* of what I take in *Elections*; and the Member, who bought me, has a fair Pretence to ſell me; nor can I, in ſuch a Caſe, have any juſt Cauſe of Complaints.

Q. *What wilt thou ſay then to the Candidate, that offers thee a* Bribe?

A. I will ſay, *Thy Money periſh with thee! As thou art now purchaſing thy Seat in Parliament, I have juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect thou reſolveſt to ſell thy Vote. What thou offereſt, and what thou promiſeſt may be the Price of the* Liberties of my Country. *I will not only reject thy Bribe with Diſdain, but will vote againſt thee.*

Q. *Is not the* Juſtice of a King *ſufficient Security for the* Liberty of a People?

A. The *People* ought to have more Security for all that is valuable in the World, than the Will of a *mortal and fallible Man.* A King of *Britain* may make as many Peers, and ſuch as he pleaſeth; therefore the laſt and beſt Security for the *Liberties of the People*, is a *Houſe of Commons genuine and independent.*

Q. *What meaneſt thou by a genuine Houſe of Commons?*

A. One,

A. One, that is the lawful Iſſue of the *People*, and no Baſtard.

Q. *How is a Baſtard Houſe of Commons produced?*

A. When the People by *Terror, Corruption*, or *other indirect Means*, chuſe ſuch as they otherwiſe would not chuſe; when ſuch as are fairly choſen, are not returned; when ſuch as are returned, are turned out by partial Votes in controverted Elections, and others not fairly choſen ſet in their Places.

Q. *How may a* Houſe of Commons *become dependent?*

A. When the *Freedom of voting* is deſtroyed by Threatnings, Promiſes, Puniſhments, and Rewards; by the open Force of the Government, or the Inſults of the Populace; but above all by private Influence; for they, who are armed with the Power of the *Crown*, have many Ways of gratifying ſuch as are ſubſervient to their Deſigns, and many Ways of oppreſſing ſuch as oppoſe them, both within the Bounds of the *Law*.

Q. *Can a* King *have a more faithful Council than a* Houſe of Commons, *which ſpeaketh the Senſe of the* People?

A. None; for they will not only give him impartial Council, but will powerfully and chearfully aſſiſt him to execute what they adviſe.

Q. *What are the Marks of a* Perſon, *worthy to ſerve his Country in Parliament?*

A. The Marks of a *good Ruler* given in Scrip-

Scripture will ſerve for a *Parliament-man*; *Such as rule over you ſhall be Men of Truth, hating Covetouſneſs; they ſhall not take a Gift; they ſhall not be afraid of the Face of a Man*, Deut. xvi. Therefore I conclude, that the Marks of a *good Parliament-man* are Riches with Frugality; Integrity; Courage; being well-affected to the Conſtitution; Knowledge of the State of the Country; being prudently frugal of the Money, careful of the Trade, and zealous for the Liberties of the People; having ſtuck to the Intereſt of his Country in perilous Times, and being aſſiduous in Attendance.

Q. *Who is moſt likely to take a* Bribe?

A. He, who *offereth one.*

Q. *Who is likely to be frugal of the People's Money?*

A. He, who puts none of it in his *own Pocket.*

Q. *You ſeem by this to be averſe from chuſing ſuch as accept* Places *and* Gratuities *from the* Crown. *What is your Reaſon for this Partiality?*

A. I am far from thinking that a Man may not ſerve his *King* and his *Country* faithfully at the ſame Time. Nay, their Intereſts are inſeparable. Mr. *Such an one*, my Lord's Steward, is a very honeſt Man; and yet if I had any Affairs to ſettle with my Lord, I would chuſe my *Neighbour* for a Referee rather than my *Lord's Steward.*

Q. *Why is* Frugality of the People's Money *so necessary at this Time?*

A. Because they have run out much, and are still much in Debt. My Father and I have paid our Share of *one hundred Millions*, and I have heard there are near *fifty more to pay*. I grudge not this prodigious Expence, as far as it has been the necessary Price of *Liberty*; but as it would grieve me much to see this Blessing ravished from me, which has cost me so dear; so on the other Hand I think it expedient to save, now the Affair is over, and the Government settled.

Q. *Who are those, who are so careful of the Trade of the Nation?*

A. Such as are willing to keep it from all vexatious Interruptions by *Inspections, entering into Houses, Seizures, Suits*; and the *Oppression of Tax-gatherers*, as much as possible; such as are willing to take off the *burthensome Duties*, which encrease the Expence of the Workman, and consequently the Price of the Manufacture.

Q. *But as you have a* Freehold, *would you not be willing to be excused from paying* two Shillings in the Pound, *by laying* Excises *upon other Parts of our Consumption?*

A. No doubt but every *landed Man* would be glad to be free from paying *two Shillings in the Pound*: but, at the same Time, I would not raise, *by another Tax*, two Shillings in the Pound, nor one Shilling in the Pound *for a Perpetuity*; for *Parliaments*, who

who have no more to give, may be disappointed for the Redreſs of their *Grievances.* Beſides, I would not be deluded by an Impoſſibility; for if my Tenant has any *new Tax* laid upon him, I am afraid he will not pay me ſo much Rent; ſo that the *new Tax* muſt ſtill affect *Land.* Then it is utterly impoſſible to raiſe by *Exciſes* what ſhall be equivalent to *two Shillings in the Pound,* without the Ruin of *Trade*; for the *Exciſes,* which are ſettled already, generally ſpeaking, raiſe double the Duty on the *People,* of what they bring in to the Government.

Q. *How can'ſt thou prove that?*

A. By Experience of *ſeveral Exciſes,* as of *Leather, Candles, Soap,* &c. Whatever is brought into the Publick by *thoſe Exciſes* is raiſed double upon the *People*; therefore if a *Million of Money,* or what is equivalent to *two Shillings in the Pound,* were levied by *Exciſe,* it would be *two Millions* upon the exciſed Commodities, which muſt deſtroy every Subject of Trade in *Britain.*

Q. *Why do'ſt thou inſiſt that a* Knowledge of the State of the Country *is a neceſſary Qualification for a Parliament Man?*

A. Becauſe this is a Qualification, of late, very much unheeded. I have heard that there are many Corporations, which never ſaw their Members.

Q. *Is then a Writ of Parliament only a* Conge d' Elire *for a Biſhop, where the King nominates?*

A. God

A. God forbid! The *Crown* is never to meddle in an *Election.*

Q. *Why is* assiduous Attendance *so necessary?*

A. Because a *Parliament-man* is intrusted with the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People, which have often been endangered by the Non-Attendance of many Members; because, if *Representatives* do not attend, I may have a Law imposed upon me, to which I had no Opportunity of giving my Assent.

Q. *Thou hast prudently and justly resolved to promote, to the utmost of thy Power, the publick Tranquility. What are the Advantages thou proposest from that?*

A. All the Advantages resulting from political Society depend upon the *publick Tranquility.* Besides, by publick Tranquility, *Armies,* which are a Mark of Distrust of the *Affections of the People,* may be disbanded.

Q. *Why do'st thou not love* Armies, *in Time of Peace?*

A. Because *Armies* have overturned the Liberties of most Countries; and all, who are well-affected to *Liberty,* ever hated them; because they are subject to an *implicit Obedience to their Officers,* and to a *Law of their own;* because they are so many lusty Men taken from *Work,* and maintained at an extravagant Expence upon the *Labour of the rest;* because they are many Ways burthensome to the People in their *Quarters,* even under

under the beſt Diſcipline, eſpecially in *dear Countries*; becauſe there are ſo many Preferments in the Hands of *deſigning Miniſters*; and laſtly, becauſe the *King* will never be denied an *Army* as great as he pleaſeth, when it is *neceſſary*.

ON

BRIBERY and CORRUPTION.

CICERO, in the ſecond Book of his *Offices*, highly commends a wiſe and handſome Rebuke, which *Philip* of *Macedon* gave his Son *Alexander*, for fooliſhly attempting to gain the Affections of the *Macedonians* by BRIBERY. He wrote his Son a Letter upon it in theſe Words. "Quæ te, malum! Ratio in iſtam ſpem induxit, ut eos "tibi fideles putares fore, quos pecunia corrupiſſes? An tu id agis, ut *Macedones* non "te *Regem ſuum*, ſed *Miniſtrum* & *Præbitorem* ſperent *fore*? —— *Tully* makes this Remark upon it.—"Bene *Miniſtrum* & "*Præbitorem*; quia ſordidum *Regi*. Melius "etiam quod *Largitionem Corruptelam* eſſe "dixit. Fit enim deterior, qui accipit, atque ad idem ſemper expectandum paratior.

Philip was undoubtedly the greateſt Prince

of his Time. He was wiſe, artful and fortunate. The Advice of ſuch a King, while he was forming the Mind of a young Prince who afterwards gave Law to the World, deſerves our Regard. This wiſe King had obſerved in his Son many noble Principles, the Seeds of Greatneſs, but ill conducted through Youth and Inexperience. *Alexander* was young, valiant and generous; but an Exceſs, or Miſapplication of Valour and Generoſity, often leads to the greateſt Inconveniencies. That his Generoſity might take a good and uſeful Turn, he writes him this ſhort, but important Epiſtle. " What Notion is this, " *ſays He*, that you have got in your Head? " Can you imagine the Fidelity and Affection " of the Subject are to be acquired by *Bri-* " *bery* and *Corruption?* Or is this your Mo- " tive, that the *Macedonians* may not con- " ſider you as one, who is to be their *Sove-* " *reign*, but a Miniſter to their *Extrava-* " *gance* and *Corruption*.

Tully's Obſervation is equally fine. " It is " ſordid and mean, *ſays he*, below the Dig- " nity of a *great King*, to court the Affec- " tion of his People with *baſe Bribes*." True Love and Eſteem are built on a quite different Foundation. " *Largeſſes*, or the giv- " ing of Money, as the *ſame Author* ob- " ſerves, is *Corruption* itſelf; for the *Re-* " *ceiver* becomes a worſe Man, and is al- " ways apt to encreaſe his Demands."—— This Maxim of *Philip* is certainly one of the

the wiſeſt in the whole Syſtem of Politicks, and likewiſe conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt Rules of Morality; that a *King giving Bribes to his own Subjects* renders himſelf mean and ſordid; that he never gains the true Affection of one Perſon by it; that he ſubjects himſelf to the arbitrary Will and fantaſtical Government of *ſuch Proſtitutes*; and that his very Crown is at their Diſpoſal to the * *higheſt Bidder*.

The Immorality of it is likewiſe evident; for ſuch Proceedings, when generally known, debauch the Morals of a whole People. The *ſame Depravity and Corruption* ſoon find their Way from a Court to a Cottage; and, in Proportion to the Diſtance, is to be traced in a greater or leſs Degree through every private Family; ſo that in a ſhort Time the very Name of Virtue may come to be loſt in ſuch a Kingdom. It is very probable that *Philip* might not regard this Maxim in the *moral View*; for if we may credit the *Greek Hiſtorians* and *Orators*, he was not apt to guide his Actions by the Rules of a *nice Morality*. He is generally drawn by them as *cunning* and *deſigning*, and though a warlike Prince, no Man knew the Weight of *Money* more than he, as well as how and where to apply it. His uſual Method of *Bribery* was to buy an *Enemy's General*, and ſometimes a *convenient Town* or *Fortreſs*; by which Means he artfully avoided riſking his

* *See* Wolfius *and* Græyius *upon this Paſſage of* Cicero.

his own Glory, and the Lives of his Subjects. He carried it so far, that just before the decisive Victory at *Chæronea*, the very Priestess of *Apollo* at *Delphi* was strongly suspected to have been tampered with by *that Prince*; for the confederate Army, who were then going to engage, for the common Liberties of *Greece*, could get no Manner of Encouragement from her; so that *Demosthenes*, who well knew the Avarice of *Priests* and their juggling Tricks, might easily guess that *Philip* had secured the Oracle. At another Time, a grave-looking Demagogue of *Athens*, who had long bawled at the exorbitant Power of the King of *Macedon*, was at length prevailed upon, and took the Reward of his Treachery with great Complaisance.

These were the successful Arts, which he used abroad; and by such Intrigues he often defeated the strongest Confederacies of all *Greece*. His Administration was wise, dreaded Abroad, and respected at Home. What Occasion could he have to *pension his own Subjects?* Their Love and Esteem was founded upon the real Conviction of the Excellency of his Government, and not upon that slippery Foundation of *Corruption*. He kept them honest, by not tempting them to be otherwise. Even in a *just Cause*, a *Gift* perverts the Mind; and, as *Tully* well observes upon this Place, "the *Receiver* immediately "becomes a *bad Man*, and is always expect-"ing *greater Bribes*." The Plunder of a whole

whole People is ſcarce ſufficient. To this Honeſty of the *Macedonians*, confirmed by their *King*, is to be attributed their true greatneſs of Mind and perſonal Courage. The Name of *Barbarians*, which the over-wiſe *Greeks* were too apt to beſtow upon their Neighbours, now left them, even by the Confeſſion of thoſe very *Greeks*, who, in a general Aſſembly of the ſeveral confederate Republicks, ſoon afer placed *Alexander* at the Head of that grand Alliance, which gave him and his *Macedonians* the Empire of the World.

From the whole it is clearly evident, that an *unpenſioned Subject* will give the wiſeſt Counſel to his *Prince*, and will always continue the moſt faithful to him. It is the true Intereſt of the *Prince* to have ſuch about him, as will not flatter him, and be Slaves to his *Paſſions*, for the Sake of his *Money*. The greateſt Danger, that can happen to a *Prince* will ariſe from ſuch of his *own Servants*, as from their own *corrupt Principles* would ſell him and his Counſels to the common Enemy. *Treaſon* is too often the fatal Attendant upon *Corruption*. A Government may be conducted with the greateſt Security, without employing theſe *pecuniary Arts* at home; for a *wiſe Adminiſtration* will always ſtand upon its own Legs, and ſupport itſelf without the Aſſiſtance of *Gold*. It can raiſe a whole People, almoſt from a State of *Barbarity*, to the Height of Greatneſs and heroic Virtue.

ON

LIBERTY

And the ORIGINAL COMPACT between the

PRINCE and the PEOPLE.

Salvâ Libertate fidus.

IN all Governments there are, either exprefly or tacitly, certain Conditions between the *People* and their *Rulers*, which in Confcience they are both bound to preferve. In the more arbitrary Kingdoms, the Traces of an *original Compact* are lefs difcernible; and by Length of Time, Deftruction of Records, or the Artifice of Princes, the Monuments of *antient Liberty* may be deftroyed; or, which is worfe, the Minds of the People prepared to imagine that either they never had a Right to *Liberty*, or that it hath been cancelled by Prefcription. *Thefe Doctrines* have been always inculcated, with great Art, by *defigning Princes*; and, upon the Strength of the Invafion of their Predeceffors, moft Kings afterwards think themfelves juftly entitled to the fame Powers, which thofe, who went before them, had notorioufly ufurped. In order to preferve their arbitrary Sway, they are reduced to main-

tain

tain an Opinion, which draws after it great Danger, and is the ſtrongeſt Invitation to the Attempts of their ambitious Subjects. This Opinion is, that Princes are in themſelves SACRED, when once they mount the Throne, though the Means, by which they roſe to it, were ever ſo flagitious.

The Princes of Antiquity, particularly the heathen Emperors, uſed to *deify* themſelves, with a View of obliging the People, from a religious Reverence, to ſubmit patiently to their Extravagancies. The *Jus divinum*, and *Sanctity of Perſon*, which ſome of our late Monarchs have aſcribed to themſelves, were but Copies of this Original, and calculated to the ſame Views; but the People have been wiſe enough, in theſe Kingdoms, to explode ſuch dangerous and iniquitous Superſtitions. It is, indeed, amazing that they could ever have prevailed at all amongſt us.

Nobody can be ſo weak, or ſo wicked, as to deny that the Proſperity of Mankind is one of the great Ends of Government. We are all obliged to promote it in our private Capacities; but it is a Duty more peculiarly incumbent on the *Governor of a People*. If he therefore ſhould play the Tyrant, and pervert his Power to the Deſtruction or Miſery of a whole Nation, his Crime is infinitely great, even much the greateſt, that Man is capable of committing; and yet, according to this blaſphemous Poſition, the worſt of theſe is ſtill *ſacred and inviolable*.

In

In whatever Light we look upon *theſe abſurd and dangerous Sentiments*, we may eaſily diſcover their weak Foundation, and monſtrous Tendency. But it is very happy for us that there is not the ſame Occaſion to explode them, at preſent, which there hath formerly been; though, at the ſame Time, they are not ſo totally eradicated, nor are the Attempts to revive them ſo inconſiderable, as not to deſerve our Attention in ſome Degree. The *People* in general are grown too wiſe to entertain them any longer; but it is with Aſtoniſhment we obſerve that *Princes* have not likewiſe ſeen their Error in the Propagation of them.

We have already taken Notice of the Encouragement, which *ſuch Doctrines* have given to the Ambition of private Men. *That Law* which owed its Riſe to the doubtful Title of *Henry the ſeventh*, is ſufficient of itſelf to ſtimulate hot Spirits, without the additional Incentive of a *general Conſcience* concurring in the *Opinion* there made legal. *This Law* declares in Effect a King *de Facto* to be a King *de Jure*, and inſtantly annuls the Right of the *precedent Prince* by the Eſtabliſhment of the *Perſon*, who obtains his Seat. Upon this was grounded the Advice, given to *Cromwel* by ſome of his Friends, that he ſhould declare himſelf *King*; and upon this likewiſe is founded the Opinion of ſeveral Writers upon thoſe Times, who imagine that he would have maintained the

Crown

Crown in his Family to this Day, if he had followed that Advice.

But there is ſtill a farther Miſchief in it, not only to the *People*, (for that is evident enough) but to the *Prince* himſelf. If he attempts to ground *theſe Sentiments* in the Minds of his Subjects, he muſt either fail, or ſucceed in his Undertaking. If he fails, the Conſequence muſt neceſſarily be the total Alienation of the Hearts of his People; for the very Cauſe of his Miſcarriage muſt be a Diſcovery that, by giving Way to *ſuch Opinions*, they make themſelves his *Slaves*; and at the ſame Inſtant that they perceive the Conſequence, they will diſcover the Cauſe to be an *arbitrary Intention* in him, which will always make them jealous of him.—But if he ſhould ſucceed, it will only make him preſume too much upon that Succeſs, and lead him on, by the paſſive Principles of his Subjects, to puſh ſuch Meaſures as will bring Ruin upon his own Head; for *Conſcience*, when hardly preſſed, will rebel againſt *Principle*; of which we have had Inſtances enough in our own Hiſtory.

It was the Dependence upon *theſe Principles*, ſtrongly inculcated and artfully ſpread in the Reign of King *James the firſt*, and propagated with the ſame Aſſiduity by his Son, that brought King *Charles* to ſo tragical an End. It was a Preſumption upon the *Patience of the People*, that engaged him in ſo violent an Exerciſe of the *Prerogative*.

It was this, which induced him to govern ſo long without *Parliaments*; to raiſe Money upon the People, contrary to *Law*; and to ſupport an *evil Adminiſtration*, however odious to the People, from a very wrong Perſuaſion that they were uſeful to himſelf. Thus, I ſay, he fell a Sacrifice to *that Principle*, which he had ſo large a Share in raiſing himſelf, and proved a memorable Example of this great Truth, that *Princes* generally find their Ruin in that, which they fondly think their ſtrongeſt Security. We cannot but lament the cruel Deſtiny of *that unhappy Prince*, and we know how to acknowledge his private Virtues; but it muſt be confeſſed, at the ſame Time, that he owed his Misfortune to his Fault, and that he had never ſuffered, if he had never aſpired to more than was agreeable to the *Conſtitution*, over which he preſided. If he had expected the *Allegiance* and *Duty of his Subjects* from no other Motive than that, from which it is only due, a Return of *Protection* and a *juſt Adminiſtration*, he might have lived and died in Peace. Nay, he might even have gone ſome Lengths with Safety. But endeavouring to force their Conſciences to Submiſſion, he only ripened the *popular Diſcontents*. If theſe Diſcontents had been kept under by no other Force than that of Convenience, they would have ſhewn themſelves ſooner, and the Cauſes of them might have been early removed; but the

long Forbearance of the People, upon *these Principles*, encouraged him to proceed farther in the ſame Steps, till he had ſoured the Minds of the whole Nation; and thus the Poiſon became univerſal, at the ſame Time that the Diſeaſe was intolerable.

King *James the ſecond* had a better Fate, though his Conduct deſerved a worſe. The Calamities of his *Father* could not deter him from walking in the ſame dangerous Path. That deſperate Example was too weak to bridle his Luſt of Power.——May this be a Leſſon to all ſucceeding Princes not to deſire the Temptation!——May it be an everlaſting Inſtruction to all People never to give it to their Prince!—This Temptation was the ſame that had undone his *Father*. It was an Adherence to the ſame *falſe Opinion*, which his *Brother* and *Himſelf* had laboured to encourage from the Reſtoration to that Time. They were carried higher, at that Æra, than they had ever run before. He relyed ſo much upon them, that when thoſe, who were Friends both to him and the Publick, adviſed him, in the Career of his arbitrary Meaſures, to act with more Caution; he told them *that he knew the Conſcience of the People would keep them quiet.*——How far he was miſtaken, and how fatal his Error hath proved to himſelf, if not to the Nation, the Experience of what hath ſince happened ſufficiently demonſtrates. It would be unneceſſary to

bring any other Examples of the Diſtreſſes occaſioned to Princes themſelves by a Thirſt of *unlimited Power*. There cannot be a Truth more fully verified by a continued Series of Inſtances, in all Ages. I have here particularly mentioned but *one of the Means*, which are uſed to attain that unwholeſome kind of Sovereignty; but the ſame Hazard attends *all other Methods*, by which the *ſame End* is to be purſued. The Danger lies not ſo much in the Manner of the Attempt, as in the Attempt itſelf. It lies in the Manifeſtation of a Deſign to invade the Liberties of the People; and if once they diſcover ſuch a Deſign, unleſs they are ſunk into the loweſt State of Corruption and Puſillanimity, they will endeavour to ſhake off an Authority, ſo plainly levelled at their antient Rights, and ſo contrary to its original Deſign.

Moſt Princes are inclined to imagine, and taught from the Cradle to believe, that *thoſe*, who argue in this Manner, are Abettors of *Faction* and Enemies to *them*. No; they are Enemies to the Growth of *Prerogative* and *arbitrary Power*; but, by being ſo, they prove themſelves the beſt Friends to the *Conſtitution of their Country*, and conſequently the ſoundeſt Subjects to a Prince, who hath no Deſigns againſt the Liberties of his People.

The whole Tendency of *theſe Diſcourſes* is to inculcate a rational Idea of the Nature

of our Government into the Minds of my Countrymen, and to prevent the fatal Consequence of those *slavish Principles*, which are industriously propagated through the Kingdom by *wicked and designing Men*. He, that labours to blind the People, and to keep them from all Instruction, may be justly suspected of bad Intentions; but he, who makes it his Business to open the Understandings of Mankind, cuts up all *Faction* by the Roots; for it is essential to Wisdom and Knowledge to support an *equal* and *good Government*.

Having justified our Endeavours in this Manner, we may venture to speak with Freedom upon that *original Compact between the* PRINCE *and the* PEOPLE, which we mentioned at the Beginning of this Paper; but to insist much upon that Head would be more necessary in Countries, where *Liberty* is totally lost, and its Footsteps erased, than in this, where *that Compact* hath been so lately renewed with the *present Royal Family*. Yet it is sometimes proper even here to touch upon *this original Right of the People*, that no Man may think the *late Contract* we have mentioned unjustly framed; but our principal Business is to ground our Arguments upon the known Conditions of our *present Monarchy*.

Our *Constitution*, as now established, is founded on a most excellent Model. We have all the Advantages of a brisk Execution

from the *monarchical Part.* From the *ariſtocratical* all the Conveniencies, which are to be found in *that Form of Government*; and the Miſchiefs, which uſually attend it, where it is abſolute and unconfined, are in a great Meaſure blunted by the Power of the *Commons*. This is the *democratical Part of our Conſtitution.* Their Share in the Ballance is vaſtly great, as it muſt be in all good Eſtabliſhments; and thus we partake of all the Benefits and Securities to *Liberty*, which reſult from theſe different Kinds of Government.

It hath been obſerved, indeed, that our Work was, in ſome Meaſure, left imperfect upon the laſt great Change of Affairs; nor is it ſurprizing that in a Time of ſuch Confuſion, and from the Variety of Opinions upon theſe Points, ſome Errors, or Omiſſions, might have happened. Yet we may with Pleaſure affirm, that beſides the Advantages, then procured, we likewiſe obtained the Power of redreſſing any *farther Grievances* and *Abuſes*, which might be then overlooked, or might hereafter ariſe in the Adminiſtration of Government. Our Princes are now made ſenſible that they are exalted, not for their *own Convenience only*, but for the Advantage of the *People*, and therefore will never refuſe their Conſent to any Laws, which may be found neceſſary for the Happineſs and Security of their Subjects. As they know that their *Prerogative* was ſettled only with that View,

View, there can never again happen a Contest between us, upon that Foot; nor can they entertain the Thought of preserving any Branch of it, which may in future Ages, by various Accidents, be rendered repugnant to the End, for which it was created.

The *Duty of the People* is also now settled upon so clear a Foundation, that no Man can hesitate how far he is to obey, or doubt on what Occasions to resist. *Conscience* can battle no longer with the *Understanding*. We know that we are to defend the *Crown* with our Lives and our Fortunes, as long as the *Crown* protects us, and keeps strictly to the Bounds, within which we have confined it. We likewise know that we are to do it no longer. The Part we have all to act, on every publick Occasion, is plainly laid down before us; and as the Blessings of Peace, Plenty, and Liberty, will always secure to his Majesty the Allegiance of his Subjects; so, on the other Hand, the Dangers, which constantly attend all Advances to *arbitrary Power*, will I hope preserve us from any such Attempts for the future.——In short, as we have the Happiness to live under an *excellent Constitution*, so it is very much in our own Power, by a proper Conduct, to secure the Enjoyment of it to Ourselves, and to transmit it to the latest Posterity.

THE

Caſe of DUNKIRK,

CONSIDERED.

IT is of ſo great Importance to this Nation that *Dunkirk* ſhould continue in that demoliſhed, ruined Condition, to which it was reduced in Conſequence of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht*, that we cannot be ſurprized at the great Uneaſineſſes and Complaints, ſince the Publick became acquainted with the Progreſs the *French* have been ſuffered to make towards reſtoring that *Port* and *Harbour*.

The Conſideration of this Affair hath been brought into Parliament; where, tho' it has not met with Cenſure, it has not met with Approbation. The Wiſdom of the Commons did not think fit, in a Conjuncture, repreſented to be ſo critical, to ſpeak in Form on what has paſſed. They contented themſelves, for the preſent, with thanking his Majeſty for the Inſtances he made to *France*. The Iſſue of this important Affair is ſtill depending, and may probably occaſion a farther Enquiry.

In the mean Time, it muſt be of Service to inform the Publick, more particularly than has been yet done, of the whole Tranſactions hitherto relating to it. My Intention there-

therefore is, agreeably to the Title prefixed to these Papers, to state, as exactly as I am able, the Sum of what has passed in the Disputes about the *Demolition* of *Dunkirk*, from the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* to the last Session of Parliament; and to make such Observations on the Conduct of *Great Britain* and of *France*, as seem to my best Judgment obviously and undeniably to result from the Series of Facts.

I do not sit down to write with a Design to flatter or to asperse any Person whatsoever. But I shall follow the Matter before me, and according as I am led by it, I shall commend or blame with all that Freedom, which the Subjects of this Kingdom are still in Possession of, and which I hope we shall never resign, as long as there remains a Tongue to speak and an Hand to act in *Great Britain*.

He, who attacks a Minister, or any other Man, without sufficient Foundation, is certainly guilty of a very great Crime. But he, who attacks with Fact and Reason on his Side, is so far an honest Man and a good Subject. His Writings are no Libels. That odious Term belongs to those, which are published against him.

Who I am that undertake this Task may, perhaps, be the Object of some Peoples Curiosity. But that is a Matter of no Importance to the Merits of the Cause. Let them examine the Facts I advance, and weigh the Arguments I employ, and the Observations I make.

make. If the firſt are not founded in Truth, and the others in Reaſon, let them triumph in my Defeat, whoever I am. But if the firſt will bear the Touchſtone, and if the others preponderate in the Scale, let them not ſubmit to me, but let them ſubmit to Truth and Reaſon, by whomſoever preſented to them.

I do not apprehend that any of our *political Writers* will be in the Caſe of triumphing on this Occaſion; and I am very ſure that many of them will not ſubmit even in the other Caſe. When Argument fails, they have recourſe to their uſual Topicks of Ribaldry and Adulation. I ſhall very probably be a *ſquat, fair Gentleman* in one Paper; a *Petit-Maître* of Fifty in another; and *Somebody* elſe in a Third; for each of theſe Authors ſuppoſes the Man he writes againſt to be the Perſon he has the moſt a Mind to rail at, or is beſt paid for railing at. Our Miniſters will be *Heroes* in all; the *profoundeſt Stateſmen*; the *moſt diſintereſted Patriots*; and our *flouriſhing Condition at Home*, as well as the *noble Figure* we make *Abroad*, will be the Subject of much Declamation.

Now all this will do little Hurt and little Good, either to the Perſons ſcratched or to the Perſons tickled. But it would do a great deal of Hurt to the Publick, if it ſhould divert, in any Degree, that national Spirit, with which the Caſe of *Dunkirk* ought to be conſidered.

Among

Among all the Artifices, which are employed to keep Mankind from feeing and embracing the Truth, no one is more grofs, and there is but one more prevalent, than that of turning their Eyes from Things to Perfons. If a falfe Heart, a foul Tongue, and a Front of Brafs can create Prejudices againft the moft innocent Man alive, the bare Sufpicion that fuch a Man is of an Opinion, fhall be urged as an Argument againft it, and on that folid Foundation it fhall be eftablifhed that Two and Three are not equal to Five. But this is not all; for as Prejudices are applied to this Purpofe, fo are Partialities. In Cafes, where private Honour and publick Juftice are both concerned, the Confequence of hurting a Man, in whofe Favour we have been made to entertain an habitual, though groundlefs Partiality, is fometimes preffed as a Reafon for complying with neither. Thefe Mifchiefs, like many others, are chiefly to be found where *Parties* have long prevailed; and it often happens that they continue to have fome Effect, even when the Parties fubfift no longer, and among thofe, who have all the fame Views, becaufe they have all the fame Interefts.

Whether any Attempts like thefe have been lately made to influence particular Men in the Cafe of *Dunkirk*, I fhall not determine. But it cannot be amifs to warn againft them at all Times, and efpecially when we

fee

ſee ſo much Pains taken to keep theſe Prejudices and theſe Partialities alive.

I have now done with my Preface, which may be thought perhaps too long. I wiſh it could be thought unneceſſary.

WHether the *Demolition* of *Dunkirk* does, in a great Meaſure, ſecure exactly * Seven-ninths of the Trade of *England* from the Power of *France* at Sea, as it has been aſſerted, I ſhall not trouble myſelf to calculate; neither ſhall I examine nicely how far this *Port* may juſtly be deemed our Rival in Time of Peace, by ſupporting ſome conſiderable Branches of the *French* Manufactures, and by carrying on a Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, which has been inſiſted upon likewiſe. In general it will not be denied, that the *French* have annoyed our Trade, and promoted their own extreamly, by the convenient Situation and other Advantages of the *Port* of *Dunkirk*.

To make therefore a true Judgment in the preſent Caſe, it is ſufficient to lay a Foundation, which few Men will attempt to controvert, and which no Man can controvert without expoſing himſelf to Ridicule, or to ſomething worſe than Ridicule, to the Abhorrence of every honeſt Heart.

The

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* Vide Sir *Richard Steele*'s Writings about *Dunkirk* in the late Queen's Reign.

The Foundation I mean to lay is contained in these Propositions.

First, The declared Sense of the *British* Nation, at the Time of making the last *Treaty of Peace* with *France*, was that *Dunkirk* should be no more either a *fortified City*, a *fortified Port*, or even an *unfortified Harbour*.

Secondly, *France* consented to the Demolition of *Dunkirk* in this Sense, and engaged never to restore it again in any one of these Respects.

These Propositions are fully proved by the 9th *Article* of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht*; by which *Great Britain* required, and *France* consented, that *all the Fortifications of the City of* Dunkirk *should be razed; those towards the Sea in two Months, those towards the Land in three Months*. Thus far the *Article* stipulates the *Demolition* of *Dunkirk* as a *fortified City* and as a *fortified Port*, and if no more had been intended no more would have been said; but the *Article* says a great deal more; it says expresly that *the Harbour shall be filled up, and that the Sluices or Moles, which serve to cleanse the Harbour, shall be levelled.* The naked *Harbour* itself was therefore to be destroyed as well as the Fortifications towards the Land and towards the Sea. After all these Stipulations follows *this express Condition, That the said Fortifications, Harbour, Moles, or Sluices be never repaired again.* So that

France

France has never had, ſince the *Treaty of Utrecht*, nor can have, while that Treaty ſubſiſts, any more Right to open, or by Reparations to help to open the *Harbour* of *Dunkirk*, than ſhe has to rebuild the Fortifications of that City, and to render it in every Reſpect what it was before the Demolition.

The late Queen *Anne* was ſo ſolicitous to have this principal Part of the Article, for ſuch it was then eſteemed, effectually performed, that when ſhe ſent her Commiſſioners to *Dunkirk* to ſee the Demolition of that Place executed, ſhe gave them the moſt particular Inſtructions imaginable on that Head. They were not only to ſee the *Moles*, and *Jettees*, and *Keys*, and *Sluices* demoliſhed, but they were to ſee the *Stones* belonging to them, even the *Stones of the Keys for ſhipping and unſhipping Goods, thrown into the Canal or Harbour, the more effectually to ſpoil the ſame, and render it impracticable for the future.* They were to ſee *the Channel of each Sluice filled up with Earth from the next Rampart, till it was made level with the Streets.* Nay, they were to ſee the *Road*, which lies before the Entrance of the *Harbour*, *ſpoiled as much as poſſible;* and the Reaſon for this particular Inſtruction is there given, *to prevent as much as poſſible any Ships coming in for the future.*

The late King of *France* had tried, by his Miniſters at *Utrecht*, and even by a di-

rect and strong Application from himself to the late Queen, while the Treaty was in Negotiation, to have the Rigour of the *Ninth Article*, in some Degree, softened. He did not desire that any Thing, which had been erected to fortify the Town, or make and preserve the Harbour, should be spared, but hoped and pressed that the *Queen* would allow *one Sluice* to be left, which had been erected, as it was then pretended, by the People of the Country, before he fortified the Place, to carry off the Waters, and save the Low Lands from Inundations. Even this Application proved fruitless. The Article was insisted upon, and was accordingly passed without any Exception.

Not discouraged by this, the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* sent over a Deputy, who was warmly supported by the Ambassador of *France*. Several fresh Instances were made, and all Endeavours were used to move the Queen's Compassion, by desiring, as a Grace, what they pretended no Right to by Treaty, *that the Sluice of* Furnes *at least might be preserved*, to carry the Waters off from the Country, and to preserve the Town from Filth, Stench, and the Consequence thereof, Infection.

But the Queen, who was resolved that *Dunkirk* should have neither a *fortified Port*, nor even a *naked Harbour*, knew by the Reports of her Commissioners, that Mr *Armstrong*, one of their Number, absolutely de-

nied the Neceſſity of preſerving thoſe Sluices, in order to diſcharge the Waters of the Country. She was informed likewiſe, by the Report of the ſame Commiſſioners, that *if any of the Sluices remained, it would be impoſſible to prevent the Harbour from being kept open; whereas if they were all deſtroyed, a ſmall Space of Time would effectually fill up the Harbour.* She continued therefore inflexible, and beſides ſeveral other Anſwers to the ſame Effect, given to the *French* Ambaſſador, and to the Deputy of *Dunkirk*, upon theſe Occaſions, a Secretary of State was ordered, upon one of them, to write to the *Britiſh Miniſter* at *Paris*, to acquaint that Court, *that the Queen will inſiſt that, by the Treaty, all Things are to be deſtroyed*, quæ eluendo Portui inſerviunt, *which ſerve to cleanſe the Harbour.—That no Diſtinction is therein made of what contributes accidentally and what directly to this Purpoſe.——That the* French *Miniſters had inſiſted at* Utrecht *to have ſuch an Exception inſerted in the Treaty; that it was poſitively refuſed, and that they ſubmitted.——That under a charitable Pretence of ſaving the Country, the* French *would ſave the Harbour.——In ſhort, that he muſt let Monſieur* de Torcy *feel, and by him the* King, *that the* Queen *ſees plainly the Correſpondence between his Officers and the People of the Town, who are unwilling to loſe their Harbour.*

I might

I might deſcend into more Particulars; but theſe are, I think, ſufficient to eſtabliſh the two Propoſitions advanced above. The Intention of the late Queen, and of thoſe who negotiated, by her Orders, the *Treaty of Utrecht*, was to deſtroy *Dunkirk* for ever, not only as a *Fortreſs* but as a *Sea-Port*. To this the *French* ſubmitted, though with much Reluctancy; and in this at leaſt the Miniſters at that Time were ſeconded by the Voice of the whole Nation. Even thoſe, who oppoſed that Adminiſtration, were aſhamed of ſome weak Attempts made to depreciate this important Article of the *Utrecht* Treaty. They ſoon took the other Part. They ſounded high the Conſequence of it, and the Neceſſity of executing it with the utmoſt Rigour. They were ſo far from thinking the Demolition of the *Fortifications* to the Land and to the Sea ſufficient, that the *Mole* and *Harbour* were called by them, and I think rightly, *the Terror of the* British *Nation*. In a Word, they aſſerted boldly, that nothing leſs than the total Deſtruction of the *Harbour*, as well as the Demolition of the *Fortifications*, could anſwer the Expectations of the *Britiſh Nation*.

Such was the Iſſue of the firſt Diſputes about *Dunkirk*, a little before the Death of the late Queen. The *French* were obliged to proceed to a total Deſtruction of it, after having in vain employed a Multitude of Artifices and a Multitude of Pretences to avoid the

the ſtrict and full Execution of the *Treaty of Utrecht* in this Point.

They turned themſelves therefore to another Method, and began to cleanſe and widen the Canal of *Mardyke*. The Pretences for doing it were the ſame as had been urged in order to ſave the Port of *Dunkirk*, under Colour of ſaving the Country from Inundations. But the plain Deſign of this Work was to open a new Harbour at *Dunkirk*, and a new Communication with the Sea.

As the Work proceeded, this Deſign became every Day more evident, by the Breadth and Depth which were given to the *Canal* of *Mardyke*, and by the enormous Size of the new Sluice, larger than that at *Dunkirk*, and vaſtly beyond any Proportion that could be pretended neceſſary for carrying off the Waters, or even for receiving Fiſher-Veſſels, and other ſmall Craft.

As the Deſign became more evident, the Repreſentations againſt it became more frequent and ſtrong. But the *French* drew the Affair into length, by the common Arts of Negotiation, and in the mean Time purſued their Enterprize with all the Vigour and Diſpatch imaginable; till the late King, reſolving not to ſuffer ſo manifeſt a Violation of the *Treaty of Utrecht*, ſent the Earl of *Stair* to the Court of *France*, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Crown.

This Miniſter proceeded on the Principle eſtabliſhed at firſt, and hitherto not once departed

parted from. *The true Senſe of the Treaty of Utrecht,* ſays he, in one of his Memorials, *and the Intention of* Great Britain *is, that* Dunkirk *ſhall never have a Port again.* From whence he argues, that ſince the Port of *Mardyke* is in its Uſe a Port to the City of *Dunkirk,* as much as the old one was, the King of *Great Britain* would have liked as well to have had this ſubſiſt, and only the Name of it changed, as to ſee another Port, larger and more convenient, opened at a League to the Weſtward.

The Anſwers, which the Court of *France* made to all theſe Repreſentations, were very far from giving Satisfaction; but the Firmneſs which the Earl of *Stair* ſhewed, and perhaps the declining State of *Lewis* the XIVth, prevailed on the *French* Councils to ſtop the carrying on theſe Works; probably with the ſame Views as they have acted ſince, to quiet the preſent Clamour, and to begin again upon the firſt Occaſion.

Such was the Iſſue of the ſecond Diſputes about *Dunkirk,* when the late King of *France* died. The *French* neither departed from their Pretenſions, groundleſs as they were, nor ruined the Works they had made at *Mardyke.* They kept one alive, and only ſuſpended the other.

The late King, therefore, inſtead of dropping this Affair, continued to puſh it; and to ſhew that he was determined, at any

Rate, to have another ſort of Satisfaction than he had yet received.

This Satisfaction he obtained ſoon after, by a *Proviſional Agreement* made with the Miniſter of *France* at *Hampton-Court*, in the Month of *September*, 1716, and inſerted in the *Triple Defenſive Alliance* concluded at the *Hague* between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and the *States-General* in *January*, 1717.

The Duke of *Orleans* was now Regent of *France*. His political Intereſts led him to deſire the Friendſhip of the late King. This Diſpoſition was cultivated and improved on our Parts, and the Union between the two Courts grew to be extreamly intimate. But as *Great-Britain* and *France* acted in concert like *Friends*, ſo they acted together in thoſe Days like *Equals*. If we uſed their Help, we lent them ours. The Dependence was at leaſt mutual, and when our ſeparate Intereſts came into Competition with theirs, far from fearing to aſſert our Right, leſt we ſhould diſoblige our Friends, we treated with them like an *independent Nation*, who knew that it is, or may be always made the Intereſt of *France* to keep Meaſures with *Great Britain*, as much as it can become, at any time, the Intereſt of *Great Britain* to keep Meaſures with *France*.

This appeared very remarkably on the Occaſion we were mentioning. The Regent was not, I ſuppoſe, more ſcrupulous than the

the late King of *France*, nor leſs deſirous of regaining any Advantage, which had been loſt, or given up; and yet he was forced to yield to all that we inſiſted upon, for the effectual Execution of the *Ninth Article* of the *Treaty* of *Utrecht*.

His late Majeſty did indeed at this Time conſent, that the Canal, opened at *Mardyke*, ſhould ſubſiſt, for carrying off the Waters, and for the little Commerce neceſſary to ſupply that Part of the Country with Proviſions. This was a Conceſſion which had not been made before, and which the *French* had not ſtrictly any Right to expect. But ſurely it was wiſe to make it in the Manner, and on the Conditions, on which it was made.

As long as a King of *France* had the plauſible Pretence of ſaving his Subjects from drowning, or ſtarving, to cover his Deſigns, it was obvious enough, by all that had paſſed, that the Deſign of reſtoring *Dunkirk*, under this Pretence, would never be laid aſide. The late King, therefore, in order to defeat the Deſign once for all, reſolved to take the Pretence entirely away.

By the fourth *Article* of the *Triple Alliance*, the great new Sluice made at *Mardyke*, and all the *Jettees* erected along the Strand, are to be deſtroyed, and not to be made uſe of *for any Port, Haven or Sluice at* Dunkirk *or at* Mardyke, *or at any other Place within two Leagues Diſtance of either of theſe; the Intention of the contracting*

Parties, and the End, which they propoſe to themſelves by this Treaty, being that no Port, Harbour, Fortification, Sluice, or Baſon, ſhall be made or built at Dunkirk, *at the Sluice of* Mardyke, *or at any other Place whatſoever upon the Coaſt, within the Diſtance before mentioned.*

By the ſame Article it was ſtipulated likewiſe that the *Digues* or *Jettees*, on both Sides of the old Canal or Port of *Dunkirk*, ſhould be entirely demoliſhed down to the Strand, and that ſome other Things ſhould be farther done, which might be neceſſary to the more compleat Deſtruction of the *Harbour*.

This being conſented to on the Part of *France*, his Majeſty conſented that the little Sluice, on the Canal of *Mardyke*, ſhould remain, provided the Breadth of it was reduced to ſixteen Foot.

All theſe Stipulations were made with the greateſt Clearneſs poſſible; and the moſt exact Specifications of every thing neceſſary to render them effectual, are contained in the *Treaty*.

Such was the Iſſue of the Diſputes about *Dunkirk*, in the Time of the late King; and ſurely there was good Reaſon to hope, after the Settlement then made, that we ſhould hear of them no more. The *French* were gratified in two Points, for which alone they contended, at leaſt avowedly; and *Dunkirk* was reduced to be no more a *for-*

tified Town, a fortified Port, or even an *unfortified Harbour.*

But to the great Detriment and Misfortune of our Nation, so it is, that we have greater Reason than ever to renew these Disputes. What the *French* were not suffered to attempt by *that Administration,* which Sir *Richard Steele* called the *French Administration,* they have been lately suffered to do. Instead of not executing *one Treaty* fully, they have publickly violated *Two.* They actually enjoy the Benefit of the Canal of *Mardyke,* which was indulged to them, that there might remain no Colour for ever opening that of *Dunkirk*; and in the midst of this Enjoyment, they have opened, they have repaired that of *Dunkirk,* and contrived their Work so, that whenever they shall think proper to finish it, *Dunkirk* will be at once a better Harbour than it was, when it stood the Glory of *France* and the Terror of *Britain.*

I proceed to the particular Facts, which support these general Allegations.

Col. *Lascells,* one of the Commissaries appointed to see the fourth Article of the *Treaty* of 1717, fully and effectually executed, continued at *Dunkirk* till the Year 1725, that memorable Æra, when the *Treaty* of *Hanover* was made, and from whence so many things, which will not be easily or soon forgot, are to be dated. How this Officer came to be *recalled,* just in that critical

critical Point of Time, has not been explained. Perhaps we may begin to guess at the Reasons, when we have gone a little farther in the present Enquiry.

It is agreed on all hands, that whilst he continued at *Dunkirk*, the old Port and Harbour remained impracticable, as by *Treaty* they are to remain; and that the little peddling Trade, which the *French* had there, was carried on by very small Vessels, and through the Canal of *Mardyke* alone.

About two Years after he had been recalled, Rumours began to spread, that the Port of *Dunkirk* was opened again. These Rumours were confirmed by several Persons, who had passed that Way; and our *Ministers*, even without receiving any Intelligence from Abroad, could not be ignorant of the Truth of the Fact, since it appeared by the *Entries at the Custom-house*, that Ships were continually going and coming from the Port of *Dunkirk*.

As the Works for repairing this Port advanced, the Trade of the Place, and the Noise about it encreased. Nay, these Works were carried forward in so publick a Manner at last, that it became impossible any longer to forbear concluding, either that our *Ministers* had not been able to prevail on those of *France* to stop this Violation of the *Treaty*, or else that they connived at it.

In this State of Things, and under such Apprehensions as these, some Members of the

the *House of Commons* resolved to lay this Matter before *the Committee of the Whole House*, appointed to take into Consideration the *State of the Nation*. The Importance of it did, in their Opinions, deserve the most solemn Proceedings, and the Nature of it required that no more Time should be lost in stopping the Growth of an Evil, which became, by every Day's Delay, greater and harder to cure. They got therefore such Evidence of *particular Facts*, as they judged sufficient; and theyconcealed their Enquiries with all the Care they could, lest the Witnesses might be prevented, by *Power* or *Artifice*, from appearing; or when they did appear, from speaking as plainly and fully in *publick*, as they had done in *private*. This Precaution, which is, or ought always to be taken in Cases of this Kind, was surely as necessary as ever, on the Occasion we speak of; and the Complaints, which have been made of it, are indeed below Animadversion.

When, in Consequence of these Measures, it was moved in the *Committee of the Whole House*, that some Persons, attending at the Door, should be called in, to give an Account of the Condition of the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, * * * * * attempted at first to hinder this Motion from passing; but the Sense and Inclination of the *Committee* running strongly against him, this Attempt failed of Success.

The *Witnesses* were called in; and they gave clear and distinct Accounts to the following Effect;

That the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, which had been demolished in pursuance of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, so that the smallest Fishing-Boat could not go into them a few Years ago, are now made capable of receiving great Numbers of Ships of considerable Burthen——That from *sixty* to *eighty Vessels* are frequently to be seen there at a Time; and that the Port is capable of containing more than one Hundred and Fifty——That, in order to make it so, the Sluice of *Furnes* has been re-established, and the Piles of the *Damme*, raised at the Time of the Demolition across the Entrance of the Harbour, have been pulled up——That several Works, in which the Soldiers as well as other Persons were employed, have been carried on from Time to Time, for cleansing the Harbour; for hindring the Mud and Sand from coming in to it; for repairing the *Jettees*; for preventing the Tides from flowing across the Channel, and thereby keeping it choaked up; for making *Keys* where Goods are loaded and unloaded as commodiously as before the Demolition, and for procuring to this Port many other Conveniences of Trade and Navigation——That an *English-built Ship*, which trades from *Dunkirk* to St. *Domingo*, was actually in the Harbour lying at the Keys, besides several *Dutch*

and

and other Ships, which trade to the *West-Indies*——That Ships of Force had been built and launched there lately, and one particularly in *January* last, which failed out of the Harbour with *twenty-four Guns mounted*, and is able to carry *thirty-six*—— In a Word, that some of the many Works, which have been made for restoring the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, are already put into as good a Condition as ever; that the Trade of the Town is by these Means very much encreased within these two Years; and that the Pilots, who lie upon the Coast, refuse to carry Vessels any longer into the Canal of *Mardyke*, having Orders not to do it.—— That the Canal of *Mardyke* is brought so near to the great Sluice, that by removing a small Quantity of Earth more, the whole Body of Water, which is at present carried into that Canal from those of *Berg* and the *Moere*, may be carried into the old Basin, and into that Part of the Harbour, where the Men of War formerly lay——upon the whole Matter, that the Port of *Dunkirk* may now very soon, and at no great farther Expence, be rendered as good, and perhaps better than it was before the Destruction of it, in all respects, except as to the *Fortifications*.———The *Witnesses* added that these Works, which had been carried on, at first, with some kind of Privacy, were afterwards continued without Disguise, and since last *August* with more Vigour than before; nay, that

that they were actually carrying on, notwithstanding the Badneſs of the Seaſon, in *January* and *February* laſt.

The Witneſſes, who proved theſe Facts, were *Maſters* of *Veſſels* and *others*, who make frequent Voyages to *Dunkirk*, and who ſpoke to nothing but what they had had frequent Occaſions of obſerving; ſo that their Evidence was, upon a very *ſtrict*, to uſe no harſher a Word, *Croſs-Examination*, confirmed in every Part, and ſupported in the ſtrongeſt Manner.

As clear as it was, and as unqueſtionable as the Truth of it appeared to be, Reaſons were urged why no *Reſolutions* ſhould be, at that Time, taken upon it. The Chief of theſe Reaſons were, that Col. *Armſtrong* had been lately ſent to *France*; that his Preſence would be neceſſary in a farther Examination of this Matter; and that a Time ought therefore to be allowed, in which he might be able to return; that ſeveral *Papers* would likewiſe be called for, to ſhew what had been lately tranſacted and what Care the *Miniſters* had taken about this Affair; and that the getting theſe *Papers* ready for the Houſe would require Time alſo. Theſe Reaſons were acquieſced in, tho' it was not hard to foreſee what might be effected by *Delay*.

The *Committee* was adjourned; *Papers* were called for; the *Committee* was again put off on the ſame Pretences for a Fortnight;

ſeveral

ſeveral Papers were brought; and, the Day before it was to ſit again, there were communicated to the Houſe, by his Majeſty's Command, Copies of a * *Letter from the D. of N. to Mr.* Pointz; of an Anſwer from Mr. † *Pointz*; and of the following *Order* obtained from the *Court* of *France*.

By the KING.

" THE Sieur — Capt. of his Majeſty's
" Ships, is ordered to repair imme-
" diately to the Port of *Dunkirk*, there to
" draw up an exact State of the preſent Con-
" dition of the Chenal and Port of the ſaid
" Town, and to make his Report thereof.
" His Majeſty enjoins the ſaid Sieur to cauſe
" to be demoliſhed all the Works that may
" have been erected in Contravention to the
" Treaty of *Utrecht* and of the *Hague*,
" Copy whereof he will find hereunto an-
" nexed. His Majeſty commands and orders
" the Governor Commandant of the Place,
" the Intendants, Engineers, and all other
" his Officers and Subjects to give all the
" neceſſary Aſſiſtance in the Execution of
" the preſent Order, in Caſe of Need. Done
" at *Verſailles* the 27th of *February*, 1730.
" Signed

* The *Duke*'s Letter to *Pointz* and *Armſtrong* was dated *February* the 12th, 1729-30.

† *Pointz* and *Armſtrong*'s Letter to the Duke was from *Paris* $\frac{16}{27}$th *February*, 1729-30.

" Signed *Lewis*, and underneath *Phely-*
" *peaux*."

Our *Miniſters* ſeemed to applaud themſelves very much on the Succeſs of their laſt Application to the *French* Court; and it was talked of, in a triumphant Stile, as if there remained no Pretence for proceeding to any farther Examination of the preſent State of *Dunkirk*. But ſurely this was unreaſonable on all Accounts; ſince if there was any Merit in obtaining this *Piece of Paper* from *France*, the Merit belonged to *thoſe worthy Gentlemen*, who brought this Affair before the *Houſe of Commons*, and in no ſort to the *Miniſters*. Beſides which, even upon the Suppoſition that *France* had now given us full Satisfaction, and a full Security that *Dunkirk* ſhould be once more demoliſhed, according to the Terms of the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, it was ſtill proper and neceſſary too that the *Committee* ſhould proceed; becauſe it was proper and neceſſary to diſcover how it had come to paſs that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* had been, for ſo *long a Time*, repairing without any effectual Oppoſition on our Parts. No honeſt Man, who is acquainted with the Conſtitution of Parliament, and who knows what the Proceedings of the *Houſe* of *Commons* have been in the *beſt Times*, will contradict me in this. Permit me to add, that the Facility and Expedition, with which the *French* conſented, upon this Occaſion, to their *laſt*

Order,

Order, administered more than ordinary Cause to suspect *that they had never been pressed much upon this Head before.*

When this House came again into the *Committee of the State of the Nation*, they had before them, besides the *two Letters* of our Ministers and the Answer just procured from *France*, several of the Papers, which had been called for, and the Evidence of some *fresh Witnesses* produced by those Gentlemen, who had produced the *former*.

I say *several of the Papers, which had been called for*; because, altho' the Papers called for by **** were all brought in; yet of those, which had been called for by *others*, *some* were kept back, under a Pretence that they could not be found in the Offices; and *others*, it was said, would require a great deal of Time to copy.

The Papers called for by **** and delivered in, were generally *Extracts* of *Letters*; so that, if one were to suppose an Intention to *conceal* any Circumstances from the Knowledge of the *House*, this Method would give a sufficient Opportunity of doing it; notwithstanding which, these very *Papers*, imperfect as they were, confirmed and strengthened all the Evidence given at the Bar.

In order to be more clear, and to state the whole Matter as fairly as I am able, I shall take Notice, in the first Place, of such Particulars as appeared in the *Papers*, or were proved

proved by *fresh Witnesses*, in Addition to and Corroboration of what had appeared in the *preceding Examination*; for nothing contrary to it appeared any where. In the next Place, I shall give an Account of the Conduct of our *Ministers* through all these Transactions; for the Exactness of which, I shall appeal to their *own Papers*, as I shall appeal to the common Sense of Mankind for the Justness of the *Observations*, which I propose to make as I go along.

It appeared then by *these Papers*, that in *March* 1727-8, according to our Stile, *the old Harbour of* Dunkirk was so well repaired, that the Canal of *Mardyke* was no longer made use of; that the Inhabitants worked at these Reparations by *Moon-light*; that the Trade of *Dunkirk* had been carried on there as formerly for *eight Months*; and that a *Frigat* of 40 Guns was fitting in that Harbour, which is said to be in as good a Condition as formerly, except as to the Condition of the *Fortifications*. Other Advices, very little posterior to these, speak of a *Sluice* built in 1727, on the *Canal* of *Furnes*; of a new Sluice preparing for the *Canal* of *Berg*; of *Engineers*, who direct, and the King of *France*'s Troops who carry on these Works.

As this Account from the *Papers* agrees with the Accounts given by the *first Witnesses*; so the Evidence of the *second Witnesses* agrees perfectly with *both*; for they said that the *Sluice* of *Furnes* had been opened

opened about *August* 1727; that is, about *eight Months* before the Month of *March*, 1727-8, Old Stile; that about *October*, 1727, the Piles, which barred the Harbour, had been drawn, and that there was Water enough in it for a Ship of 400 Tons. They confirmed, that Numbers of Men, mostly *Soldiers*, were employed on these Works.

Mr. *Armstrong* was sent, in 1728, with Mr. *Cronstroom* to *Dunkirk*, and his Report is dated from thence in *September*. This Report is in nothing repugnant to the *other Accounts*. On the contrary, it enters minutely enough into the Particulars of Works, which the Report agrees to be *contrary to the express Terms of the Treaty*.

There are, among the *Papers*, other Advices of the Month of *May*, 1729, concerning *new Works* carried on at *Dunkirk*, and Accounts of what was done upon these Advices; but the *Papers* are, from *May* and *July* 1729, entirely silent as to this whole Affair; and yet it appeared plainly by the *Evidence* at the *Bar*, which was not contradicted, that from *July*, to the Time of bringing this Enquiry into the *House of Commons*, the *French* continued to repair and mend the Port of *Dunkirk* with more Application than ever. It is therefore no wonder if the *Witnesses* spoke to some more Particulars than are to be found in the *Papers*.

Thus have I related the Substance of what appeared, concerning the *present State of* Dunkirk,

Dunkirk, as well as concerning the *Works* carried on by the *French* at that Place, ſince Mr. *Laſcells* was *recalled* from thence. Some Circumſtances, which I may have omitted, to avoid Prolixity and Confuſion, will occur more properly in the *Second Part*; where I propoſe to give an Account of the Conduct of our *Miniſters*, thro' all theſe Tranſactions, out of their *own Papers*.

Firſt, it appears, by their *own Papers*, that the very firſt Notice, which they took of what the *French* were doing at *Dunkirk*, proceeded from a Repreſentation made by the *Penſionary* of *Holland*, on Advices he had received from *France*, and which were dated the 26th of *March* 1728. *N. S.* Now the *French* had been, at this Time, many Months working at the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and the Trade of that Place had been, during this Time, carried on as formerly. Did *our Miniſters know* of this, and do nothing againſt it till the *Miniſter of the States* called, in a Manner, upon them? This would be *Connivance* in the higheſt Degree. Did they *not know* it ſooner? They took then no Care to be *informed* of what paſſed at *Dunkirk*, for two Years together, after they had recalled Mr. *Laſcells*, whoſe Preſence had been a Check upon the *French*. This would be *Neglect* in the higheſt Degree. The *Dutch Miniſter* at *Paris* ſent this Advice to the *Penſionary*. How came *our Miniſter*, at the *ſame Court*, not to have

as good *Intelligence*, or having it, not to ſend it hither?

But there is another Conſideration ſtill behind; for if *publick Reports* did not deſerve their Attention; yet they could not be ignorant that the *Port of Dunkirk* was opened, becauſe they muſt know, at leaſt *one* of them muſt know, and from him the reſt might have known, by the Entries at our *Cuſtom-houſe* *, that Ships went daily to it and came daily from it. *Neglect* might keep them ignorant of the particular Works, by means whereof this Harbour had been reſtored. But even *Neglect* could not hinder them from knowing that it was, in ſome Degree, reſtored; and that, by Virtue of two ſolemn Treaties, over the Obſervation of which it was their Duty to watch, *Dunkirk was never to be, in any Degree, an Harbour again.*

Secondly, as the *latter Part* of the foregoing Obſervation bears particularly on the *elder*, ſo I apprehend that the Obſervation I am about to make will be found to bear as hard on the *younger* of that *Pair of Brothers*, who have had ſo long the Direction of the Affairs of this Kingdom; for the Advices, which the *Penſionary* had communicated to our *Court*, were ſent to the *Britiſh Miniſter*

 at

* *N. B.* The Entries of *Brandies* from thence were increaſed from 600 Tons, in the Year 1727, to above 1600 in the Year 1729; and the Entries of *Cambricks* from 18,500 half Pieces to above 31,000 half Pieces; and 160 Sail of Ships, from 30 to 60 Tons, were entered at the Cuſtom Houſe from this Port in the three Years from 1727 to 1729.

at *Paris* by the *Secretary* of *State*, on the 4th of *April* 1728, with Orders that he ſhould inform himſelf about them, and make the proper Repreſentations to the *Cardinal, if he found them true*; though it was not poſſible for us to have any Doubt of the Truth of thoſe Facts; concerning which, they might have had certain Information from ſo many Hands, if their Attention had not been wholly employed in the neceſſary Eſtabliſhment of *Don Carlos*.

Walpole's Anſwer is dated the 29th of *April*, N. S. and it is a curious one indeed. He ſends over an Information, which agrees, in the main, with the Advices received from the *Penſionary*; but adds, that the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* had ſeen, *ſome Time ago, with equal Surprize and Pleaſure, that in one Night their Port was opened at once, by the Force of an* extraordinary Tide, *which they looked upon as a kind of* MIRACLE. In this *French Miracle* his Excellency ſeems to believe; and therefore moſt cautiouſly propoſes to the *Secretary of State*, that a Perſon may be ſent to *Dunkirk* to ſee whether what has been done there be any thing more than the pure Conſequence of the *Tides*, before he ſpeaks to the *Cardinal* in purſuance of the Orders ſent by the D. of *N.* to him.

On the 30th of *April*, the *Secretary* writes to the *Ambaſſador* again, and ſends him an Account,

Account, *which his Majesty has received*, says the Letter, *of the Works which have been carrying on at* Dunkirk *for the Establishment of the Port and Harbour there, from a Person of undoubted Credit and Skill in those Affairs*. The Advices of the *Pensionary* are owned to be true; and every step, which has been taken at *Dunkirk*, is declared to be a *direct Breach of the Treaty of* Utrecht *and of the Triple Alliance*. *Walpole* is directed therefore to insist with the *Cardinal*, that immediate Orders be sent to stop these Works, and a Confidence is expressed that the *Cardinal* will take effectual Care that every Thing be rectified according to the *Treaties* abovementioned. All this is enforced by some Reasonings, which would incline one to imagine, that our *Ministers* at home might think it necessary, at that Time, to insist upon the Observation of the *Treaties*.

But *our Minister abroad* did not appear much convinced of any such Necessity; for his *Excellency's Answer* to this Dispatch is more extraordinary than the *last*, and even than the *miraculous Tide*, which, it is pretended, opened the Harbour of *Dunkirk*. He writes on the 30th of *May*; that is, a Month afterwards; to the D. of *N*. sends him some *Papers*, received from the *Cardinal*, relating to our Complaints about *Dunkirk*; takes no Notice of any *Representations* made by him, in obedience to the *Orders* sent him; but says very coolly and very tenderly,

that *he is no competent Judge of this Affair, and can ſay nothing to it.*

His *Excellency's Temper* would almoſt make any honeſt Man loſe his Temper; but let us examine theſe Paſſages with all the Indifference poſſible.

Walpole's Information, which he ſent the D. of *N.* agreed with that of the *Penſionary*, which the D. of *N.* had ſent him. He knew then, by repeated Advices, that it was not the *Tides*, but the inceſſant Labour of the *French*, which had opened the Port and reſtored the Trade of *Dunkirk*, with all the Circumſtances already mentioned. He knew, or he might have known, that this *miraculous Tide* had happened eight Years before, long before Mr. *Laſcels* was *recalled* from *Dunkirk*; and neither had been, nor could be, of itſelf, effectual to the opening that Port. This being the Caſe (and it is ſo moſt exactly) on what Principle ſhall we account for *Walpole*'s Doubts, Delays, and the Weight he ſeems to lay on that impertinent Story of the *Tide*?

But this is not the worſt. He holds much the ſame Conduct, after he has received a *third Information*, confirming the *two former*, coming from a Perſon of *undoubted Credit* and *Skill*, believed by the King, and made the Foundation of *poſitive Orders* to him to inſiſt on having an immediate ſtop given to theſe Works. *He was no Judge in this Affair*. His *Orders* were not *conditional* in

this

this Caſe, as in the *former*. Nothing but the *greateſt Certainty*, that the *Advices*, which the *King* had received, were *untrue*, and that his Majeſty had been *deceived* in them, could juſtify him for *delaying* one Moment the Execution of his *Orders*. Now, inſtead of this *Certainty*, what had he? Why he had a *Paper*, drawn up by the *Intendant of the Marine at* Dunkirk; for which, by the way, he had ſtayed about a *Month*; and it happens very unluckily that this Paper, as inconſiſtent, as ſhuffling, as evaſive, and as impertinent as it is, owns not only the Truth of ſome Particulars, contained in the *Advices*, which were the Grounds of Complaint, but acknowledges expreſly that ſome Works had been made *to prevent the Sands from choaking up the Harbour*. Need I go about to prove that, in Conſequence of the *Treaties*, the Harbour is to remain *choaked up for ever*; and that every thing done to prevent that is an Infraction of theſe *Treaties*?

I proceed, in the third Place, to take Notice of Mr. *Armſtrong*'s *Report*. This *Report* is dated at *Dunkirk* the 23d of *September*, 1728, near four Months after the Tranſactions laſt mentioned, and confirms ſufficiently the Truth of the *Advices* received.——It takes Notice of an *Extraordinary Tide*, which had demoliſhed, in the Month of *December*, 1720, the great *Batardeau* or *Digue*; but it obſerves that the breaking of this *Digue* was far from opening the

the Harbour, ſince the Sand and Earth of it, being ſpread by the Flux and Reflux, had filled the Port, Baſin, and Channel, ſo that a *Boat* could not get in from the Sea-ward——It attributes very juſtly the *opening the Harbour* to the rebuilding the *Sluice* of *Furnes*, and augmenting it with a *ſecond Flood-Gate*——It then proceeds to particularize the ſeveral other Works, which had been made, and aſſerts that *they are all contrary to the expreſs Terms of the ninth Article of the* Treaty of Utrecht, and alſo to the *fourth Article of the* Treaty of Alliance *made at the* Hague *the fourth of* January, 1717.——It afterwards propoſed different Methods for reſtoring Things to the State they were in, before the *French* had *opened* and *repaired the Harbour*——Thus far all is well; but then *theſe Engineers* (for *Cronſtroom* joins in the Report with *Armſtrong*) turn Politicians; and having offered what they judged neceſſary for an effectual Compliance with the *Treaties*, they take on them to offer what they judge may be expedient, and not repugnant to the *Intention* of the *Treaties*; and that is, that the little *Rigolle* or *Gut* (ſo they are pleaſed to call it, and ſuch it might be then, in Compariſon of what it is now) ſhould be left to the *French*; and in order to preſerve it to them, that the *Sluice*, which they had built on the *Canal of Furnes*, in Violation of their *Treaties*, ſhould be left to them likewiſe.

This

This muſt appear a very odd Opinion; eſpecially when it comes from Mr. *Armſtrong*, who was ſo poſitive, in the late Queen's Time, that the *Sluices* at *Dunkirk* were not *neceſſary* to be preſerved, in order to *diſcharge the Waters of the Country*; and that if any of *theſe Sluices* remained, it would be impoſſible to prevent *the Harbour from being kept open*; whereas if they were all *deſtroyed*, a ſmall Space of Time would effectually fill up the *Harbour*. But ſince that Time, he ſeems to have been enlightened by *Ricouart, the Intendant of the Marine at* Dunkirk; who, in the *Paper* abovementioned, to which this *Report* refers, had undertaken to do, in three Months Time, in *War* or *Peace*, at the Expence of *ten thouſand Livres*, and with *one hundred Workmen*, more than he owned had been done at *Dunkirk* in *four Years*.

It was right, perhaps, in *Ricouart* to advance this extravagant Propoſition; becauſe it was his Buſineſs to furniſh the *Cardinal* with Arguments to oppoſe to *our Complaints*; but ſurely it was not *our Buſineſs* to build, on this Foundation, *ſuch Maxims*, as are eſtabliſhed in Mr. *Armſtrong*'s *Report*, and as have had too much Prevalency ſince.

France, it is argued, may, in Caſe of a Rupture with us, rebuild *Sluices*, and open thereby the *Harbour of Dunkirk* and the *Channel*, as deep and as wide as formerly. But this *Harbour* will be of no Advantage

to them, till the *Fortifications* to the Sea are rebuilt; becauſe all Ships of War or Burthen were ever obliged, when this Place was in the beſt Condition, to go out into the *Road*, where they may be attacked, as long as the *Strand* remains *unfortified*, and there take in their Guns, Proviſions, *&c.* Therefore let us permit them to *open* their *Harbour now*; that is, becauſe *France* will probably, in Caſe of a *War*, reſtore and fortify the *Port of Dunkirk* again, let us allow them to do *Part of their Work beforehand*; becauſe they will not obſerve the *Treaties*, when they are *no longer bound by them*, let us connive at their breaking theſe *Treaties*, whilſt they *are bound by them*.

But I muſt not diſmiſs this Point ludicrouſly.

Mr. *Armſtrong*'s Reaſoning, which was very *bad*, when he firſt made Uſe of it, and which is grown *much worſe* by what has happened ſince (though there are Men who ſtill inſiſt upon it) is entirely built on *ſuppoſing* what is *in Diſpute*, or rather what is *fully diſproved*.

For *firſt*, it is taken for granted that, in Caſe of a *Rupture*, the *French* will be able, in a ſhort Time, to reſtore *this Harbour*, notwithſtanding all that has been done, or can be done to *deſtroy* it. Now this is abſolutely denied by ſeveral very *knowing Men*; and was ſo, in a particular Manner, by *one*, whoſe *Knowledge* can be no more diſputed, than

than his *Valour*, or his *Integrity*; and who said in the *House* that he would undertake the *Digue* or *Damme* might be ſo made, as not to be deſtroyed, in *two Years Time*, with all the Expence *France* could beſtow upon it.

But beſides, how could it eſcape Mr. *Armſtrong*, when he took his Hint from the *French Intendant*, or thoſe who have been Mr. *Armſtrong*'s *Ecchoes*, that their own Reaſoning turns, in this Caſe, *againſt them?* Let it be allowed them, for Argument's Sake, that no Ship can take its Departure from *Dunkirk* without ſtopping ſometime in the *Road*; let it be allowed that we can attack and deſtroy them there, as long as the *Strand* is not *fortified*; nay let it be allowed that, in Caſe of a *War*, we ſhould be able from the *Road* to hinder the *French* from *fortifying* the *Strand.* From all which they conclude that a *naked Harbour* cannot be of much Advantage to *France*, at the ſame Time that they aſſert that it is not worth while to hinder that from being done now which *France* can and certainly will do in a *few Months*, whenever a *War* ſhall happen.

But ſurely it is very plain, upon this Foundation, and in Contradiction to what is aſſerted, that nothing can be more worth our while, than to *hinder the* French *from reſtoring this Port and Harbour in Time of Peace*; ſince they cannot poſſibly reſtore it in Time of

of *War*. The ſame Force, which it has been allowed would deſtroy their Ships in the *Road*, and even hinder them from *fortifying* the *Strand* again, would equally hinder them from reſtoring their *Channel* to the Sea, by making *Jettees* down to the low-water Mark, to prevent the Flux and Reflux of the Tides, which ſet acroſs the *Channel*; from choaking it up with Mud and Sand as faſt as the Sluices by their Effect can clear it. Now it is undeniable, that if we can, in Time of War, command the *Road* and even hinder the *Strand* from being *fortified*; we can likewiſe, by the ſame Means, hinder the *Jettees* from being carried to *low-water Mark*. From whence it follows, on the Reaſoning of theſe Gentlemen, that if we do not ſuffer the *French* to do this Work, by Stratagems in Time of *Peace*, they never can do it by Force in Time of *War*; and by Conſequence, if ever it is done, it muſt be owing to the Folly, Neglect or Treachery of the Miniſters of *Great Britain*.

Secondly, it is aſſerted to be publickly known that *all* Ships, whether of *War* or *Burthen*, were ever obliged, when the Haven was at its beſt, to go out into the *Road*, and there take in their Guns, &c. Now it is publickly known, that all Ships of *War* or *Burthen* were not formerly, and are not even now under any ſuch Neceſſity. There is at preſent Water enough in the *Harbour*

for

for a Ship of 400 *Tons*, and the *Witnesses* had seen a Ship sail out of it with 24 Guns mounted. The largest Men of War, which were kept formerly on that Station, might be obliged to go light into the *Road*, and there take in their *Guns*, *&c.* but it is evident that Ships of Force sufficient to annoy the Trade of *Great Britain* and to carry on that of *France*, did formerly and may now sail out and in, without being obliged to stop in the *Road*.

Thirdly, the *opening this Port*, in the Manner it has been done, and the erecting a *Sluice* on the Canal of *Furnes*, tho' allowed to be contrary to the express Terms, is supposed not to be repugnant to the *Intention* of the *Treaties*, and to the *Ends* proposed by them. Now surely the direct contrary is demonstratively plain; so plain, by the *Terms of the Treaty*; by the Principles over and over laid down; by the Arguments over and over employed in the Disputes and Negotiations about this Affair; and finally by Mr. *Armstrong*'s *own Opinion formerly delivered*, and followed, that it is inconceivable he should *report* in Contradiction to all this; unless a *Report* was to be made, on this Occasion, in *Consequence of a Measure resolved*, instead of determining the *Measure*, *in Consequence of the Report*; which I apprehend has been the Case, on many Occasions.

When the *French* made the *Canal of Mardyke*, they covered themselves under the

Letter of the *Treaty*; and becauſe they did not rebuild the *ſame individual Moles, Jettees or Fortifications*, as had been demoliſhed, they would have had it underſtood that they did not act againſt the *Words* of the *Ninth Article* of the *Treaty of Utrecht*; which are, *ne dicta Munimenta, Moles, aut ageres denuo unquam reficiantur.* Now when they have rebuilt one of the *ſame Sluices*; are repairing the *very ſame Jettees*; and are, in a Word, reſtoring the *ſame individual Port, Harbour, Baſin and Channel*; we argue, in their Favour, that they do not act againſt the *Spirit* or *Intention* of the *Treaties*, provided they do not renew the *Fortifications on the Strand.* Mr. *Armſtrong*, in this Report, does not indeed allow the *repairing the Jettees*; on the contrary, he inſiſts ſtrongly on the Neceſſity of *deſtroying them, even to the Level of the Strand*; but we ſhall ſee that he does little leſs than allow it in a *ſubſequent Report*; and the ſame Argument, drawn from the ſuppoſed *Intention of the Treaties*, has been equally inſiſted upon, ſince the *Jettees* have been *in part repaired* and *other Works done*, which anſwer the *ſame Ends*.

But to conclude this Obſervation; if there could have been, *before* the Treaty of 1717, any Doubt concerning the *Intention of the Treaty of* Utrecht, as there certainly could not; and as his late Majeſty inſiſted very juſtly and very ſucceſsfully that there could not;

not; yet to urge this, *after the Treaty of* 1717, is to chicane about the *Spirit of Treaties*, in Favour of the *French*, more grosly than they did themselves in their own Favour, when they accepted the *Will of the late King of Spain*, notwithstanding all the Engagements they had taken by the *Treaty of Partition*. The *fourth Article* of the *Treaty* of 1717, is a Commentary on the *ninth Article* of that of *Utrecht*. If, after that, we are still at Liberty to talk of the *Spirit* or *Intention of the first* Treaty, nothing can be ever determined by any *Treaty*. The *Treaty* of 1717 leaves the *Canal* of *Mardyke* in such a State as might suffice for carrying off the Waters, and admitting of *small Vessels*, that there might be no Excuse left for *opening*, in any Degree, the *old Channel*, which by the *same Treaty* is to be *more effectually demolished than ever*, in order to the intire choaking of it up: How can it be said, after this, that the *Intent* and *End* of this *Treaty*, as well as of the former, is not disappointed by *opening* this same *old Channel* and the *Harbour* anew? I grow ashamed of insisting so long on a Point so very clear, and shall finish it by saying, that nothing could surprize or afflict me more than to hear *some Persons*, from whom better Things might have been expected, argue for *keeping open the Harbour of* Dunkirk upon any Principles, and especially on such as these; that it is not against

the *Treaties*, nor against *the Interest of Great Britain*. To *excuse Ministers*, who have committed *Faults*, may be allowed to *Friendship*, and to *particular Obligations*; but there can hardly be a more melancholy Symptom in a *free Government*, than that of *excusing* and even *justifying* the Conduct of *Ministers*, by explaining away the most *important, national Advantages*.

Having made these Observations on Mr. *Armstrong*'s Report, I proceed, in the *fourth Place*, to take Notice of what our *Ministers* did, in Consequence of it.

What they did was in short This. They followed his Advice, as far as it went in Favour of *France*; and there do not appear any Footsteps, that they followed it in taking *effectual* Care of those few *Things*, which he recommends in Favour of *Great Britain*.

They approved his *Report* in all its Parts. They directed the *Minister* at *Paris* to insist that Things might be rectified according to it; and the *Secretary of State* writes that *this will give entire Satisfaction*. Nay they would not so much as try whether *France* would be contented with *less* than Mr. *Armstrong* proposed; for *Walpole* having given the Hint, by asking whether he should communicate the *whole Report* to the *French*, or only such Parts of it as related to the *Infractions of the Treaties*, he is ordered to communicate the *whole Report to the Cardinal*. That is, he is ordered to shew the

French

French at once, that we were willing to *give up* to them what had never been *given up* from the *Treaty* of *Utrecht* to this Time; and leave them a *Harbour*, under the *ſham Pretences*, under which they had ſo long preſſed for it in vain.

What is the Return made to this noble Frankneſs and Generoſity of ours? Why, the *Cardinal*, ſays he, has put the *Report* into the Hands of the *Secretary for Maritime Affairs*; and that, in order to hinder an *Eclat*, Direction will be given for complying with it by Degrees.

Who does not ſee the Meaning of this Anſwer? The *Eclat*, that is the Noiſe, was already made in *Great Britain*, and in *Holland* too. It was publickly known in *both*, and publickly complained of, that the *French* had, in great Meaſure, *reſtored the Port and Harbour of* Dunkirk. Surely there could have been no Hurt in letting it be as publickly known, that they were *deſtroying*, at leaſt, a Part of what they had done in *Violation of the Treaties*. This muſt have helped to *hinder*, inſtead of making any farther *Eclat*. This muſt have done Honour to *that Court*, and have given ſome Colour, if any Thing can give Colour to ſo improbable a Story, to what has been ſo often ſaid, and is ſaid even now, that the *French Miniſters* knew nothing of the Works carried on by the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk*.

But the Meaning of *this Anſwer* was plainly to *gain Time*. We had ſhewn too much Haſte in giving up, at once, a great Part of what they wanted to gain upon us; and they were willing to try if they could, by Delay, evade performing the ſmall Part of what we required of them.

I paſs to my *fifth* Obſervation, which will prove that this is no unreaſonable Refinement, or raſh Judgment. What I have juſt related paſſed in *Nov.* 1728. From that Time it does not appear that the *French* demoliſhed, according to Mr. *Armſtrong*'s *Report*, any of the *Works* they had made, or that our *Miniſters* preſſed them once to it. But though they did not *demoliſh*, it appears that they *built*; for in the Month of *May* following, a new Alarm comes, and our *Miniſters* are once more called upon by the *Penſionary*, who ſends them Accounts of *farther Works* carrying on at *Dunkirk*, for the Improvement of the *Harbour*. Theſe Accounts were ſuch, that my Lord *Cheſterfield* ſays, in his Letter, the *Penſionary* gave great Attention to them. Let us ſee what Attention *We* gave to them.

They are ſent to the *Miniſter* at *Paris*. He communicates them to the *Cardinal*. The *Cardinal* knows nothing of the Matter; but gives *general Aſſurances* that nothing, contrary to the *Treaties*, ſhall be done. Our Complaints are tranſmitted from Court to *Dunkirk*, and from thence an *Anſwer* is

is returned by the *Intendant*, acknowledging in the main the Facts complained of, but giving Turns to them, which one would hardly imagine could paſs even with thoſe, who have ſo much Faith in their *Miracles.* Such, for Inſtance, as this; that a *certain Floodgate* had indeed been repaired, but that it was *one*, which had not been demoliſhed at the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; which is true for this Reaſon, that it was not *in being* at the Time of that Demolition, but hath been *built ſince*; ſo that the *French Argument* ſtands thus. We do not break the Treaties by *repairing this Work*, though we broke them by *building it*.

This Anſwer was referred to Mr. *Armſtrong*, who (without any Examination, whether the *French Intendant* had not palliated and diſguiſed Matters) makes as implicit and favourable a *Report*, as the other could have deſired.

A few Months ago, it was, in his own Opinion, neceſſary to deſtroy the *Jettees*, newly erected, and the Heads of the *old Ones*, which had been left, and that even down to the *Level of the Strand*. Now, the *Piles*, driven at the Head of the *old Channel*, and pretended to be deſigned only for *Beacons* and *Moorings*, may be allowed; provided Care be taken that they do not ſerve for the Foundations of *Batteries*. The *new Magazines* and the *new Key* are not thought of any Inconveniency. All that

France is doing, and which the *Penſionary* laid ſo much Weight upon, is allowed. The *Miniſter* at *Paris* hath Orders to ſay ſo; but he is to hint, at the ſame Time, that Care be taken that no farther Works are carried on. He may ſpeak out in making theſe Conceſſions to *France*; but he muſt meaſure his Words, and not ſpeak plain, when he mentions what we required in Return; though what we required, in Return, was nothing more than a *verbal Aſſurance* that *Batteries* ſhould not be made on the Heads of the *Jettees*, which we allowed them to erect at the Entrance of the *old Channel*.

My ſixth Obſervation is this. Though we were now brought, Step by Step, to ſee and own a manifeſt Danger, that the *French* might not only repair, but fortify the *Port* of *Dunkirk*; yet from the Month of *July* laſt the Works were carried forward there till the *Enquiry* begun in Parliament, without the *Knowledge*, or with the *Connivance* of our *moſt knowing Miniſters*.

It appeared by the concurring Evidence of the Witneſſes, that they were carried forward, during this Time, with greater Application and leſs Reſerve than ever; that the *Soldiers of the King's Troops* worked at them; and that Ships were preſſed, by the *King's Orders*, to carry Stones for this Service.

After this, it is impoſſible to read, without ſome Surprize, that when Mr. *Pointz* and Mr. *Armſtrong* made the Repreſentations, which they were ordered to make, to the *French Miniſters*, both the *Cardinal* and the *Keeper* of the *Seals* aſſured them, that if any Thing had been done towards reſtoring the *Harbour* of *Dunkirk* to its former State, or in Contravention to the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, it had been done *without their Knowledge*, and *contrary to the* French *King's expreſs Commands*. They ſeem, by this Proteſtation, as ignorant as our *Miniſters* were, of Things done in their own Country, and with all the *Eclat* poſſible; but even Ignorance, in this Caſe, is not very excuſeable in either; for

Firſt, as to the *French Miniſters*. Taking what they ſay, in their own Behalf, for granted, that the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* have been principally active in what hath been lately done there, contrary to *Treaties*; yet can it be ſuppoſed, with the leaſt Appearance of Probability, that Works of ſuch Importance could be carried on, for above two Years together, without any Authority, or Connivance, or even the Knowledge of the *French* Court?——Is it, in any Degree, credible that the Subjects of an arbitrary *Prince* would dare to make Uſe of his Troops, or to preſs Ships into that Service, by pretended Orders and without any real Licence?—Can we imagine that This could

be done under the very Noſe, and yet without the Privity of the *Governour Commandant*, the *Intendants* and divers other Officers of the Marine, who are obliged to hold a conſtant Correſpondence with the *Miniſters* at *Paris?*——or, laſtly, can it be pretended, without putting the greateſt Violence on common Senſe and common Reaſon, that even *Curioſity itſelf, the loweſt Principle of all our Enquiries*, would not have prevailed on the *Miniſters of France* to examine into this Affair, and gain the beſt Informations about it, after it had made ſo great an *Eclat* in *England* and *Holland?*

I am at a Loſs to find, in this Conduct, any Proof that *they carry their Fidelity even to a Nicety*; for it was certainly incumbent on them to be ſo informed; ſince it was from the *French Court*, and not from the *Inhabitants* of *Dunkirk*, that we were to expect and require the ſtrict Obſervance of the Treaties. When the *French Miniſters* therefore would impoſe on us an Aſſurance of this Kind, ſo void of all Probability, and at the ſame Time give us another Aſſurance of their doing every Thing agreeably to *Treaties*; will not the notorious Improbability of the *one* juſtify our ſtrongeſt Suſpicions about the Performance of the *other?* When there are ſuch convincing Reaſons to queſtion their *Veracity*, can we, without expoſing ourſelves to the Contempt of the whole World, depend intirely on their *Sincerity?*

Secondly,

Secondly, As to the *inactive* Conduct of our *Ministers* from *July* to *February* last; and in order to set this Matter in a full Light, let us recal very shortly and place their whole Proceeding in one View.

If we look no farther back than the Year 1727, when the *new Sluice*, on the Canal of *Furnes*, was built, it is now about 3 *Years* since the *French* have worked at the Restoration of *Dunkirk*. In this Time, our *Ministers* have made *three Complaints*, and not *one* of these Complaints hath been made originally on their *own Motion*, and upon *Advices of their own*. The *two first Times*, they were called on by the *Pensionary*, and the *last Time*, they were pushed on by the *Parliament*. The Proceedings on the *first Complaint* ended by allowing to the *French* some Infractions of the *Treaties*, and by desiring that others might be rectified. This is *promised*; but the Promise is *not kept*. Instead of *rectifying* what had been done, *new Works* are carried on. The Proceedings on the *second Complaint* end in our acquiescing to these *new Works*, provided they are *extended no farther*. Even *this Promise* is not kept. The Works are *extended farther*. All Mankind know it, and complain loudly of it for seven Months together. An *Enquiry* begins in Parliament. Our *Ministers* are surprized and know nothing of the Matter. Although they had been disappointed

a *first* Time, they took no Care not to be so a *second*.

I think that I need not explain or enforce this any farther; and therefore I shall observe, *7thly*, that as there may be some Reason, arising from *their past Conduct*, to apprehend that the *French Court* may not be quite so exact, nor so expeditious, as we are made to hope, in fulfilling even the *last Promise*, which they have given us, to *demolish all the Works erected contrary to the Treaties*; so there is great Reason likewise, arising from *our past Conduct*, to apprehend that *they* do not understand, on that Side of the Water, by *Works contrary to the Treaties*, what *we* do and always must understand, on this Side of the Water, by those Words; from whence it will follow that, by *dexterous Management*, we have brought the clearest Point in Nature to be the most intricate; and that whereas there never could have been Room for the least Dispute, if the *Treaty* of 1717 had been observed, in Explanation and Moderation of that of *Utrecht*, our departing from it may and must open a Source of inexhaustible Chicane.

I have already shewn how the Treaty of 1717 explains the *Intention* and moderates the *Conditions* of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, so as to leave the *French* no Colour, either from the *Letter* or *Intention* of the Treaties,

for

for doing or acting any Thing more than what is there *specifically expressed*; no, not even on Account of discharging the *Canals*; draining the *flat Country*; or carrying on their *Fishing* or *any other Trade*.

Upon this Foot, therefore, the Sense of these Words (*Works contrary to the* Treaties; or *Works done in Contravention to the* Treaties;) is exactly and invariably determined. But the *French* have been artful enough to improve our Complaisance for them, so as to set the Case of *Dunkirk* on quite another Foot; with our *Ministers* I mean; for with the *Nation* I hope and believe that impossible to be done.

On the former Foot, every Thing, which hath been done at *Dunkirk*, is directly against the *Letter* of *both Treaties*, and against the *Intention* of that of *Utrecht*, explained by that of 1717. The *Rigolle* or *Gut*, which Mr. *Armstrong* and our *Ministers* allow the *French*, by virtue of their *dispensing Power*, and the *Sluice* on the Canal of *Furnes*, to keep this *Rigolle* or *Gut* open, are as directly and as plainly against the *Intention* of the *Treaties*, as even fortifying the Town, the Harbour and the Strand would be.

But, on the other Foot, there is Room for Chicane. The *French* may say (and, no Doubt, they will say) that the *Intention* of *Treaties* ought to be determined by the *Sense*, in which the *contracting Parties* have,

 by

by mutual Agreement, executed them; that as the late *King* allowed them to have a Communication from *Dunkirk* to the *Sea*, by the Canal of *Mardyke*; ſo they have been allowed, *at preſent*, to have the ſame Communication by the *old Channel*; that we did indeed once inſiſt on demoliſhing their Reparations of the *old Jettees*; but that, ſince that Time, and on Occaſion of Complaints about *other Works*, made for improving this Harbour, we have not only expreſly *approved* their making theſe *latter Works*, but have tacitly conſented to their repairing and ſupplying the *old Jettees*, by taking no Notice of their not deſtroying them, nor of their making other Works to hinder as effectually the Flux and Reflux of the Tides from choaking up the *Channel*, as the *Jettees* are deſigned to do; that all this, together with our Approbation of the *new Key* they have made, and the new Magazines they have built, ſhew it very evidently to have been our Senſe, as well as theirs, that the *Intention* of the *Treaties* is not to deprive them of a *naked Harbour* at *Dunkirk*, but only to hinder them from having a *fortified Harbour* there; that they are far from entertaining any ſuch Thoughts; that *they carry their Fidelity even to a Nicety*, and have not yet raiſed *one ſingle Battery* on the *Strand*; till they attempt which, we have not the leaſt Reaſon

to

to affirm that they act *in Contravention to the Treaties.*

This and much more, to the same Effect, may the *French* say, whenever they are pressed in good earnest to fulfil their *last Promise,* agreeably to the just Expectations of the *British Nation.* Nay, they certainly will insist in this Manner, if they were so pressed; because whatever Reasons they may have to desire that *our present Ministers should continue in Power,* I can hardly persuade my self that they will, for the Sake of the *two illustrious Brothers,* undo intirely what they have done at *Dunkirk,* and fairly lay aside the Hopes of restoring *that Port, by Degrees* and *without Eclat,* to its former Greatness and Splendor.

That there is Reason to apprehend such a Conduct from them, we may judge by what we have lately heard from *Dunkirk*; for it is said that Mr. *Lascels,* with some *French* Officers, had been to *sound the Water* in the *Harbour* and *Channel.* Now, to what Purpose can this be? If we are to stand to the *Treaties,* we must insist that there be *no Water*; at least, no *navigable Water* at all in the *Harbour* and *Channel.* If we depart from the *Treaties,* to what Purpose do we dispute about a *Foot or two of Water,* more or less?

The Question does not turn on such Circumstances as these; whether the Port be capable of receiving 50 or 100 Ships; whether

ther Ships of 50 or 500 Tons go into it, or out of it; whether the Depth of Water be 14 or 18 or 20 Foot, and the like; but singly on this, whether it be made a *Port* to *any Purpose, or in any Degree whatsoever.*

Perhaps, we may hear of *some Jettees*, or *other Works* destroyed, and a few Appearances of a *Demolition*; but let it be remembered that nothing can be a just Satisfaction and real Security to us, but the reducing *Dunkirk* once more to that Condition, into which it was put by Virtue of the *Treaties*, and following them as the stated Rule between *us*, and *France*, on this Head. Let it be remembered likewise that whatever *Satisfaction* we may obtain, be it more or less, will be owing to the *Parliamentary Enquiry*, and not to the Care, Vigilance and Spirit of *those*, who are employed in the Administration.

After having made so many Observations on the Conduct of our *Ministers* in this Affair of *Dunkirk*, I am obliged, in Justice, to take some Notice of the chief Argument, by which their Creatures endeavour to excuse them; for though many concur to screen them from *Censure*, few there are, I think, even amongst *these*, who presume entirely to justify their *Conduct*.

It hath been said then that *different Times* and *different Situations of Affairs* require *different Ways* of *acting*; which is a most undeniable Truth. But as *Common-place Wit* diverts nobody, who hath *any Wit*, so

Common-

Common-place Maxims impoſe on nobody, who hath *Senſe* and *Knowledge.*

It is true that *different Times* and *Situations* require that Miniſters of State ſhould both ſpeak and act in *different Manners*; but they are never to loſe their *Object*, although they change, in ſome Meaſure, the *Manner* of purſuing it. This *Object* is, or ought always to be, the *greateſt national Good.* To *wiſe* and *honeſt* Servants of the Publick *all Countries* will be abſolutely indifferent, except *their own*; and by Conſequence they will neither lean to nor from any *foreign Intereſt*, but as *that Intereſt* is brought nearer to the Intereſt of their *own Country*, or placed in a *greater Oppoſition to it*, by the Courſe of *Accidents.*

Now, let us apply the *Maxim*, thus explained, to the Conduct of our *Miniſters* in the Caſe of *Dunkirk.*

That we have ſeen and do ſtill ſee *Times* and *Situations*, with reſpect to *Great-Britain* and *France*, very different from thoſe, which our Fathers or we beheld, during forty Years, is true. It is true therefore, that ſince this Alteration of *Times* and *Situations*, a different Manner of *ſpeaking* and *acting* towards *France* hath been requiſite on our Part. But our *general Intereſt*, with Reſpect to *France*, is only thus far changed. *Formerly*, it was our Intereſt to *oppoſe all her Meaſures*, and to *defy her moſt exorbitant Power.* It is *now* become our Intereſt to

have

have a Communication of *friendly Meaſures* and Intercourſe of *friendly Offices* with her; and, inſtead of *defying her reduced Power*, to be only jealous of its *growing again*.

In cultivating therefore the Friendſhip of *France*, and even in avoiding all Appearances of diſtruſting her, or being jealous of her, our *Miniſters* have acted according to the Rules of *good Policy*. The *French* have held the ſame Conduct toward *us*; and this mutual Confidence and Amity might certainly have been productive of much *publick Good*, without any particular Inconveniency or Miſchief. It hath been ſo to *France*; but it hath not been ſo to *Great Britain*; and the Reaſon of this Difference is plain. The *French* have followed the *Maxim* above-mentioned, but without once loſing Sight of their *national Intereſt*. Whenever *this* hath come into Queſtion, they have inſiſted *amicably*, but they have inſiſted *as ſtrongly as ever*; witneſs the Caſe of *Santa Lucia*, that of the * *Honours at Sea*, and many others. Nay, whenever they could acquire ſuch a Pretence, as ſeemed conſiſtent with the Terms of *Friendſhip*, they have artfully enough endeavoured to *diminiſh our Power*, and to wreſt from us *thoſe Advantages*, which they know

* Above a Year ago a Lieutenant of an *Engliſh* Man of War was broke, as it was ſaid upon the Inſtance of *France*, for obliging a *French* Ship to *Strike*, according to his Inſtructions, as ſhe was going out of one of our *own Harbours*.

know may ſome Time or other, in *our Hands*, be of Detriment to *them*; witneſs the Part, which our intimate Friend, the late Duke of *Orleans*, acted in ſupporting the Claim of *Spain* to the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*.

But I am afraid it will be found that *our Miniſters* have ſuffered the Tranſports of Friendſhip to carry them too far in Favour of *France*; particularly, in the Caſe now before us; for which they muſt be confeſſed inexcuſeable, notwithſtanding the *wiſe Apothegm* quoted in their Behalf; unleſs they can ſhew that, by departing from a ſtrict Obſervation of the *Treaties*, with reſpect to *Dunkirk*, they have avoided a *greater Evil*, than the Danger of ſeeing *this Port reſtored* is and muſt be reputed; or elſe that they have procured to their Country a *greater Good* than that of keeping *Dunkirk* in the *State*, to which it was *reduced*, and in which it was to *continue*, according to the *Treaties*.

If this *ſole Excuſe*, which can be made for our *Miniſters*, will avail them little, when it comes to be tried by the Rules of *Reaſon*; it will be quite exploded, when we have Recourſe to *Experience*, and compare the Conduct, which was held by our *Miniſters*, in the Years 1716 and 1717, with that which has been held for theſe *three* or *four laſt Years*, as well as the Situation of Affairs, at *that Time*, with the Situation of Affairs, during the *latter Period*.

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The Purport of the *Provisional Agreement* made in 1716, which was inserted in the fourth Article of the *Alliance* made in 1717, hath been already mentioned. The *French* were far from consenting easily to make this Step; and nothing less than the Firmness, which we then shewed, could have forced them to it. I doubt not but they would gladly have destroyed entirely the Canal of *Mardyke*, if they might have been permitted to have had that *Rigolle*, or *Gut* (for there appears an Affectation in calling it any Thing but what it is, a *Channel*) which hath been allowed them since. The Harbour of *Dunkirk* is a *Tide-Harbour*, and therefore liable to much Inconveniency; but this Inconveniency was, in great Measure, remedied by the Situation of the *old Channel*, now *restored*, which runs strait down to the *Sea* from the *Harbour*, and hath the *Road* before it, in which Ships may, at all Times, get into the *Port*.

The Canal of *Mardyke* runs a great Way about and makes an Elbow, before it can descend to the *Sea*; and when it comes there hath no *Road* across the Entrance of it; for which Reason, *Dunkirk* can never be of that Advantage to *France*, and of that Danger to *us*, with *this* opening to the Sea, as with the *other*.

The *late King* therefore consented, as is observed above, to leave the Canal of *Mardyke*, reduced according to the Terms of

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the *Provisional Agreement*; but he was so far from giving the least Way to any Thing, which might tend to open the *old Channel*, that he expresly stipulated the doing of every Thing necessary for the *farther* and *more compleat Destruction of it*. Thus we see the Difference between our *former* and our *late Conduct*. Let us consider how we stood, at that Time, with *France*, and what was the *general Situation of our Affairs*.

We were *then* as closely united with *France* as we are *now*; and the Maxim of cultivating this *Union* prevailed as strongly in our Councils. A Storm from the *North* was *then* much more to be feared than *now*. The late Czar's *Grandfather* was then alive likewise. How we stood with *those Princes*, and what we had to apprehend from their *Arms*, I need not explain. At Home there were some Remains of a *Rebellion* not totally extinguished, and a *Jacobite Party* still in being. The *Swedish Plot* against the Government was carrying on at that Time. *Alberoni* was ripening his formidable Schemes, which he began to execute in 1717, and we were, in Concert with *France*, taking Measures to oppose them.

Let me ask now any Man, of common Ingenuity, whether an Argument, drawn from the *Situation of Affairs*, to excuse some Compliances with *France*, might not have been urged with a better Grace at *that Time*, than it could be urged, for the *same*

Purpose,

Purpose, now? He will certainly answer that it might; and yet it is urged *now*, not to excuse some *little Compliances*, but to excuse what hath been done, in *direct Contradiction to the Treaties*, and for giving up to *France* a great Part of the *Advantage* and *Security*, which we were in Possession of *by them*.

This *Difference of Conduct* is therefore not to be accounted for by the Difference of *Times and Situations*. It is to be accounted for by nothing, but by the *Difference* of *Men*. We had then *other Ministers at Home* to give Instructions, and *another Minister* at *Paris* to execute them. The *Times* and *our Situation*, in the Years 1716 and 1717, were not more favourable to us, than the *Times* and *our Situation* in the Years 1727, 1728 and 1729; and our *national Interest*, with Respect to *Dunkirk*, hath been exactly the same in *both*; but our *Ministers* had not then negotiated themselves into an absolute Dependance on *France*, nor learned perhaps a Lesson, that it is much more easy and profitable to evade or defeat a *Parliamentary Enquiry*, than to *govern well at Home*, and to support the *Interests*, the *Honour*, and the *Dignity* of the Nation *Abroad*.

A FINAL ANSWER

To the REMARKS *on the* CRAFTSMAN's VINDICATION; *and to all the Libels, which have come, or may come from the ſame Quarter againſt the* PERSON, *laſt mentioned in the* Craftſman *of the* 22d *of* May 1731.

IT is impoſſible to have read the Papers, which have been publiſhed againſt the Writings of the *Craftſman*, and not have obſerved that one principal Point hath been laboured with conſtant Application, and ſometimes with a little Art. The Point I mean hath been This; to make all the Diſputes about national Affairs, and our moſt important Intereſts, to paſs for nothing more than *Cavils*, which have been raiſed by the Pique and Reſentment of *one Man*, and by the Iniquity and dangerous Deſigns of *another*. Nothing, which could be ſaid or done to inculcate this Belief, hath been neglected. The ſame Charges have been repeated almoſt every Week, and the Publick hath been modeſtly deſired to pay no Regard to undeniable Facts, to unanſwered and unanſwerable Arguments, becauſe theſe Facts and theſe Arguments were ſuppoſed, by the *mi-*

nisterial Writers, to come from Men, to whom *these Hirelings* ascribed, against all Probability, the worst Motives, and whose Characters they endeavoured to blacken without Proof. Surely this Proceeding rendered it necessary, at least not improper, at the Conclusion of those Remarks, which were to conclude the Collection of the *Craftsman*, to say something concerning the *Persons*, who had been so particularly attacked on Account of the Part, which they, who railed at them, were pleased to suppose that *these Gentlemen* had in the Writings, contained in that Collection. This, I say, was necessary; at least proper; not in order to *raise a Spirit*, as it is impertinently suggested in the *Libel*, which lies before me; but to refute *Calumny*, and to remove at least some of those Prejudices, which had been raised, or renewed, on the Occasion of *these Writings*, and which were employed to weaken the Effect of them; an Effect, which may be said with Truth to have been aimed at the * *noble Pair of Brothers*; since it keeps up a national Spirit of Enquiry and Watchfulness, which it is the Interest of *these Persons*, as it hath been their Endeavour, to stifle; and which it is the Interest of every *other Man* in *Britain* to preserve in himself, and to nourish in others; an Effect, which cannot be said, without the greatest Untruth, to have

* *Par nobile Fratrum.* See the Motto prefixed to the *Remarks.*

have been aimed againſt the *preſent Settlement*; ſince the higheſt Inſolence, which can be offered to his Majeſty, is to attempt to blend his Intereſt and his Cauſe with thoſe of his *unworthy Servants*, as the Tools of theſe *unworthy Servants* are every Day employed to do, and probably at his Majeſty's Expence.

Something was ſaid therefore by the *Craftſman*, in his Journal of the 22d of * *May*, to the Purpoſe I have mentioned. If he went out of his Way, (for he ought moſt certainly to confine himſelf to *Things*, and meddle with *Perſons* as little as poſſible) he went out of it on great Provocation. He carried Truth and Reaſon along with him; and he uſed a Moderation and a Decency, to which his *Adverſaries* are Strangers.

To ſet this Matter in a full Light, let us conſider what he ſaid; let us conſider how he hath been anſwered; and, by fairly comparing both, let us put the whole Merits of this Cauſe upon one ſhort but deciſive Iſſue. It will be Time afterwards to make a few Obſervations on the Clamour raiſed; on the Reaſons and Deſigns of it; in a Word, to detect the mean Artifice and ſilly Expedients, to which the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are reduced. In doing this, I ſhall neither affect to declaim, nor to inveigh, though I have before me an inexhauſtible

* See *Letter* XXIV *in* Oldcaſtle's *Remarks on the Hiſtory of England*. *Printed for* R. Franklin.

haustible Fund of Matter for both, and the Law of Retaliation to bear me out. As I am persuaded the *Men*, I have to do with, can raise no Passion in the *Person* concerned, so have I no Need of endeavouring to raise the Passions of others.——But to proceed.

The *Craftsman* took Notice of those Accusations, which are brought against the *Gentleman* he mentions in the *second Place*.—I meddle not with the Defence of the *other*, which hath been undertaken by an abler Pen.—Some of these he answered in general only; and yet he answered them as particularly as he ought to have done for Reasons of *Honour*, which are touched upon by him, and which shall be a little more opened by me.

But there were other Points, not at all affected by these Reasons, on which no Explanation was necessary to be given by the *Accused*, and on which the *Craftsman* had a Right to demand Proofs from the *Accusers*. They were Points of a more determined Nature; such as admitted of no different Constructions; such as could not be altered by Circumstances. They were of a more publick Nature; such as the Men, who brought the Accusations, must have it in their Power to prove, if they were true; and such therefore as must be false, if the Men, who brought the Accusations, were not able and ready to prove them.

On these the *Craftsman* insisted. He affirmed Propositions directly contrary to the

Accuſations brought. He appealed to unqueſtionable Authority for the Truth of what he affirmed; and to *one* in particular, which ſhould have been treated with more Reſpect by the *Remarker*, ſince it will outweigh, at home and abroad, a thouſand ſuch Authorities as thoſe of *his Patrons*. He challenged all Mankind *to produce one ſingle Proof, in Contradiction of any one of the general Affirmations*.

Was there any Thing unfair, or indecent in this Proceeding? Was there any Thing in it, which could provoke the Choler of thoſe, who are Friends to Truth and Juſtice? If they, who brought theſe Accuſations, had been ſuch, an Opportunity was preſented to them of convicting the guilty Man at the very Tribunal, before which his Cauſe had been pleaded. By producing Proof on theſe Heads, they had it in their Power to condemn him upon all the Reſt; and if *this Part* of the Charge was made good, the Opinion of Mankind would have been fairly enough decided as to the *other*.

Iſſue being joined therefore in this Manner, the *accuſed Perſon* muſt be found guilty of all the Crimes laid to his Charge; or his *Accuſers* muſt be found guilty of Slander, of Calumny, and of the worſt Sort of Aſſaſſination.

Thus the *Craftſman* left the Matter.—Let us ſee what hath been ſaid in Anſwer to him.

I paſs over the many ſcurrilous Productions

of thoſe *weekly miniſterial Scolds*, who are hired to call Names, and are capable of little more. The elaborate Libel, intitled *Remarks on the Craftſman's Vindication*, ſeems to be the utmoſt Effort of *their* and *their Patron's* collected Strength; and tho' I have waited ſeveral Days to ſee if they had any more Scandal to throw out; yet I never doubted an Inſtant from what Quarter this remarkable Piece came into the World.

The whole Pamphlet is one continued Invective, and deſerves no more to be called *Remarks on the Craftſman*, or *an Anſwer to him*, than the Railing and Raving and throwing of Filth by a *Madman* deſerve to be called an *Anſwer* to thoſe, who unwarily paſs too near his Cell. All, that *Malice* could ever invent, or the Credulity of *Parties*, inflamed by Oppoſition, receive, is aſſembled. Truth is diſguiſed by Miſrepreſentation, and even many Things, which the *noble Pair* know to be falſe, are affirmed as true.

But you will aſk, perhaps, whether the Challenge is not accepted, and whether Proofs are not brought to contradict the plain and poſitive Affirmations made by the *Craftſman?* I anſwer, the Challenge is accepted, and the *Remarker* aſſures us that he hath brought Proof in *numerous Inſtances* againſt theſe Affirmations; which is the more generous, becauſe the *Craftſman* exacted but *one ſingle Proof in Contradiction of any of them*.

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The *first* of these Affirmations was, that the *Gentleman concerned* never entered into *Engagements, or any Commerce with the* Pretender, *till he had been attainted and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects.*——Let us examine the Facts, which we find scattered up and down in the *Remarks*, which may be applied to prove, in Opposition to this Affirmation, what hath been so often asserted, that *this Gentleman was a zealous* Jacobite *and an Agent of the Pretender*, even in the Reign of the *late Queen.*

The *first Fact* of this Kind is this. *He left the Kingdom. His high Treason, among other Crimes, was confessed by his shameful Flight.*

Had the *Libeller* proved this *high Treason*, I might agree that the *Gentleman's leaving his Country* was a Consequence; but I can never admit that it is a Proof of his *Guilt*. Could no *other Reason* for leaving his Country be given, except his *Guilt*, his *leaving his Country* would be a strong Presumption against him. But many other Reasons will soon occur to those, who remember the Passages of that Time; and Reasons there are of a more private Nature still, which would be very far, to say no more, from reflecting Dishonour on a Step, which is called, by *these foul-mouthed Advocates of Power*, *shameful* and *ignominious*. One Thing it may be proper to assure them of, that they may pretend to mistake the *Craftsman*,

and to misapply his Words no more. It is this. The *Gentleman* never declined a Contest with the *two honourable Patrons of this Libel. One* of them was, in those Days, below his Notice; and he never found, upon Trial, that he had Reason to apprehend being foiled by the *other*. But we must not yet dismiss this Article.

If the Proof we are examining proved any thing, it would prove too much. If to decline, in certain Circumstances, a Trial; if to go into voluntary Exile, either before a Trial, or even after Condemnation, were absolute Proofs of *Guilt*, the Conduct of many greater and better Men than the *Person now accused* would deserve our Censure, and that of Calumniators, as vile as *these Libellers*, would merit our Approbation. *Metellus* and *Rutilius* must be condemned. *Apuleius* and *Apicius* must be justified.

This sort of Proof therefore not appearing sufficient to make good the Charge, that *this Gentleman* was engaged with the *Pretender* before his *Attainder*, great Pains are taken, and much Rhetorick is employed to shew, what we shall not presume to contradict, that he ought not to have engaged in that Cause after his *Attainder*. Neither did the *Craftsman* insist on this Circumstance as a Defence of the *Person accused*. He fixed this Date of the Engagements mentioned, in Contradiction to *Those*, who had falsely affirmed that these Engagements

were much more antient. But he neither urged it as a *Defence*, nor pleaded it as an *Excuſe*; and yet I am perſuaded that this very Circumſtance had ſome Weight with his *late Majeſty*, when that excellent Prince, the Mildneſs of whoſe Temper, and the Clemency of whoſe Nature, would have rendered him amiable in the moſt private Station, and made him almoſt adorable in that great Elevation, to which the Providence of God had raiſed him; when that excellent Prince, I ſay, was pleaſed on his own Motion, and without any Application from the *Perſon* here ſpoken of, to extend his preſent, and promiſe his future Favour to him.

Tho' the *Craftſman* did neither ſay nor intend what has been objected by the *Remarker* to him, yet he might perhaps mean ſomething more than hath been obſerved; and if he did mean it, he meant to inculcate, upon this Occaſion, a very uſeful, general Truth. Let us grant that the Man, who engages againſt his Country, even when he has been oppreſſed in it, or driven out of it by Violence, is not to be defended; that theſe are Occaſions, wherein we ought to kiſs the Rod, which ſcourges us, and reverence that Authority, which we think has been unjuſtly exerciſed againſt us. But then let it be granted likewiſe, that *human Paſſions* are ſo ſtrong, and *human Reaſon* ſo weak, that Men, who ſuffer Perſecution or who imagine they ſuffer it, are ſeldom able to

keep within these Bounds of *heroical Moderation.* They will be apt to seize the Opportunities, which may be offered, of resisting, or of attempting to repair the Injuries done them. They will flatter themselves, that they do not *vow their Revenge against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen,* nor go about to subvert the *Constitution of the Government.* They will persuade others, nay they will persuade themselves, that they do not seek *Revenge,* but *Redress;* nor aim to destroy the *Law,* which punishes, but to prevent the *Abuse* of it, which persecutes. Thus will Men, who actually suffer, be apt to reason; and if the Case be common to Numbers, they will be apt to proceed from reasoning on such Principles, to act upon them. Wise Governments therefore have been careful to distinguish between *Punishment* and *Persecution;* have never suffered the *former,* however just, necessary, or severe, to carry the least Appearance of the *latter.* *Ludlow* was justly punished. My *Lord Clarendon,* whom the *Remarker* hath so strongly yoaked with the *Regicide,* was unjustly, ungratefully and cruelly persecuted. We may pronounce, without Uncharitableness, that the *former* would have taken any Opportunity of subverting a second Time the Constitution of his Country; not from *Resentment* alone, but from *Principle.* The *latter* would have been moved by no Resentments to disturb that

Frame of Government, which he had contributed ſo much to reſtore. The *former Example* therefore hath nothing to do in this Place, and if I admit the *latter*, it will only ſerve to ſhew us how Men *ſhould act*, not how they *do act*. It will be one Example of *Virtue*, oppoſed to innumerable Inſtances of *Frailty*. Innumerable, indeed, are the Inſtances of Men in all Ages, who, having been driven out of their Country by Violence, have endeavoured, even by Violence, to return to it. This is the general and known Courſe of Nature; *depraved* indeed, but *human*; and ſince it is ſo; if we allow that *they*, who diſturb a Government, becauſe they think themſelves perſecuted, deſerve no Excuſe, we muſt allow that *thoſe*, who give Occaſion to this Diſturbance by Perſecution, deſerve very little.

I hope I may deſerve ſome for this Digreſſion, into which the *Remarker* led me; and I return to my Subject, by ſaying that neither the *Craftſman* hath pretended, nor do I here pretend, to excuſe the Engagements, which *this Gentleman* took, after his *Attainder*, and which his *late Majeſty* ſo graciouſly pardoned; but that his taking theſe Engagements, *after his Attainder*, is no Proof that he was under them *before*; and that his going out of the Kingdom, in the late King's Reign, is no Proof that he was a *zealous Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender* in the late Queen's Reign.

The *Libeller*, finding himſelf unable to make this Charge good, leſſens the Charge that he may ſuit his Proof to it. If he cannot prove that the *Gentleman* was in the Intereſts of the *Pretender*, before his *Attainder*, he will prove at leaſt that he had a *ſtrong Propenſion* to *thoſe Intereſts*; and how does he prove even this? He aſſerts that *in the Year* 1702, this Gentleman was *one of the virtuous* 117, *who gave their Votes to throw out the Bill for ſettling the proteſtant Succeſſion*, &c. Falſe and impudent Aſſertion! A few Pages before he pretends to have the *Journal Book of the Houſe of Commons* before him. Had he it before him now? If he had, how can he affirm, in direct Contradiction to it? If he had not, how could he venture to affirm any thing, concerning this Matter? The *Bill for ſettling the proteſtant Succeſſion, in the preſent royal Family, paſſed the Houſe of Commons* in the Month of *May* 1701, not in 1702; and it paſſed *nemine contradicente*, to bring in a *Bill for the farther Security of his Majeſty's Perſon and the Succeſſion of the Crown in the proteſtant Line, and extinguiſhing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of* Wales, *and all other Pretenders, and their open and ſecret Abettors. This Bill* was accordingly brought in, and the Perſons who, by Order of the Houſe, prepared and brought it in, were *Sir Charles Hedges* and one Mr. *St. JOHN*. In the Progreſs of *this Bill* through the

Houſe,

House, it appears that there were ſome Debates and Diviſions about *particular Clauſes* and *Amendments*; but the *Bill* was paſſed without any *Diviſion*; ſo infamouſly falſe is the Aſſertion made by *this Libeller*, that there was no Diviſion of 117, or of any other Number, for throwing out either *the Bill which ſettled the Succeſſion*; *or the Bill, which was made for the farther Security of it*. There was a Diviſion indeed, of 117 againſt 118, upon a Clauſe added by the Lords to a *Bill for inlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration, &c.* and this happened in the Year 1702; but what Relation hath *this Fact* to the Fact aſſerted? Whether the *Gentleman* voted againſt *this Clauſe*, or not, I am unable to ſay; and it is to no Purpoſe to enquire; for the Clauſe regarded only *ſuch Perſons as had neglected to take the Abjuration Oath in Time, and provided that if ſuch Perſons had forfeited any Office, Benefice*, &c. *to which any other Perſons had been preferred, the* former *ſhould not be reſtored by taking the Advantage of this Act*. If this pretended Proof is not another Inſtance of the *vileſt Calumniation*, the *Libeller* himſelf confeſſes that the *Craftſman's Challenge was properly made*; and that *there is not one Proof in the World againſt his general Affirmations*.

Another Fact, which is advanced and moſt pathetically declaimed upon, for Reaſons not hard to be diſcovered, is likewiſe applied

to maintain the ſame Charge. *This Gentleman*, ſays the *Libeller*, *had the Impudence to oppoſe his preſent moſt ſacred Majeſty, when he demanded a Writ of Right——The Writ of Summons to Parliament. He afterwards cauſed the Elector of* Hanover's Miniſter *to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime than having demanded that Writ.* And did *this Gentleman* oppoſe this Writ? Nay, did any other Servant of the late Queen oppoſe it? Falſe and impudent is the Aſſertion. It was ordered to be made out the very Day * it was demanded. If the *Miniſter*, who demanded the Writ, was forbid the Court, was *this Gentleman* the Cauſe of it? Is every diſagreeable Circumſtance to be aſcribed to him in an Affair, which was too important not to be laid, by the *proper Miniſter*, that is by the *Chancellor*, not the *Secretary*, before her late Majeſty and her Council; and in which it may be ſuppoſed that her Majeſty's Reſentments were alone ſufficient to determine ſuch a Reſolution? Beſides, if the *Miniſter* received the Affront mentioned, was it ſingly and abſtractedly for *demanding the Writ*; or was it founded on the *Manner of demanding*, and on many other Circumſtances, ſome expreſſed and ſome hinted at in the *Letters*, writ ſoon afterwards by the *late Queen* to her *late Electoral Highneſs the Princeſs Sophia* and to his *preſent Majeſty*, which lye before me in the printed *Annals of*

* Vide *Annals of the Reign of Queen* Anne.

of Queen Anne's Reign? Was the Reception, given by his *late Majesty*, then *Elector*, to the *Minister*, who made this Demand, at his Return home, ſuch a one as ſhewed his Majeſty's Approbation of this Meaſure, and his Diſapprobation of what had happened here upon it?—I ſay no more.

We have now gone through all I can find in *this Libel*, which ſeems not ſo much as to aim at making good the *firſt Head of Accuſation*, on which the *Craftſman* made his Challenge.

On the *ſecond Head*, the *Craftſman* affirmed that the *ſame Gentleman never had any Commerce either direct or indirect, inconſiſtent with the Engagements he took after his Attainder, whilſt he continued in them.* Now, this Affirmation, inſtead of being diſproved, is evaded. *It is foreign to me*, ſays the *Remarker*—Is it ſo?——Have not all his *ſcribbling Aſſociates* charged *this Gentleman* over and over for being *treacherous to the Pretender*; for being engaged with him; and at the ſame Time a *Spy* and a *Partiſan*, ſuch is the Language they uſe, of the *late King?* Is not the flat Contradiction given to this Lye a Part of the Challenge made by the *Craftſman?* Hath not *this Libeller* accepted the Challenge? Hath he not called it a *weak*, a *fooliſh* and a *ſlaviſh Defence?* May he evade it after all his boaſting? Is he not bound to make it good in every Part, or to own the Charge of Calumny, which I make

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on *him*, on the whole *ſcribbling Crew*, and on *thoſe*, who pay them? What he, or they will own, I neither know nor care. What the Publick will determine is evident.

On a *third Head of Accuſation againſt this Gentleman*, the *Craftſman* affirmed, that ſince he was *out of the Engagements* laſt mentioned, *he hath had no Commerce, either direct or indirect, in favour of that Cauſe.* Now, upon *this Head*, though the Accuſation be not given up in Terms, yet is it as little maintained, or ſupported by Proof as the *laſt*. The *Libeller*, indeed, calls the *Gentleman* a *Leviathan* of *Treaſon*; diſplays the terrible Dangers, which would have attended the reinſtating him; preſumes to call it a *Libel on the late King's Memory to ſay that he had ſuch Intentions*; and yet dares not deny that his Majeſty ſignified his having *ſuch Intentions*. In ſhort, with much Bombaſt, he makes the Panegyrick of his *Patron*, for *defeating theſe Intentions*. I ſhall not condeſcend to make one ſingle Remark on this Rhapſody of Scurrility and Adulation. Such Poiſon carries its Antidote along with it into the World; and no Man will be at a loſs to judge whether *publick* or *private Motives* determined the *Servant*, in this Caſe, to defeat the Intentions of the *Maſter*. Which ever they were, he, who can believe that the *Gentleman* ſo often mentioned has upon him any of that *Obligation*, which the *Craftſman* diſclaims for him, deſerves to be

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pitied; and he, who can bring himſelf up to affirm it, deſerves to be deſpiſed. But before I leave *this Article*, it may not be improper, nor unſeaſonable to enquire, by what Criterion *good Subjects to his Majeſty* and *faithful Friends to the preſent Eſtabliſhment* are to be diſtinguiſhed and known. Are all thoſe to be reputed ſuch, who aſſumed the greateſt Zeal for the *proteſtant Succeſſion* formerly?——This cannot be; for many of the *Tories* have this *Title*; and all, who ever wore that Name, are proſcribed by the *Syſtem* we have advanced.—— Are all theſe to be reputed ſuch, who were alike zealous for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, and who have beſides made conſtant Profeſſion of the Principles of *Whiggiſm*?—— This cannot be neither; ſince many ſuch as theſe are daily ſtigmatized with the reproachful Names of *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*; and ſince Endeavours are uſed, by falſe Deductions and by arbitrary Interpretations, to prove them *Enemies to the Government*, and in Effect *arrant Traitors*.—— What is *this Criterion* then? I am able to diſcover but one, and it is this; being for, or being againſt the *noble Pair of Brothers*, the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker*. Without the Merit of approving *their Conduct*, no Man is to be reputed a *faithful Subject*, or a *Friend to his Country*. With this Merit, and with that of a blind Submiſſion, even *they*, who have been the *moſt*

obnoxious, may be received; and *they*, who have been called *Enemies to the Government*, as loudly as any others, may be inrolled among its *Friends*. This Practice of endeavouring to confine the Interest of the Government to as narrow a Bottom as that of *two Ministers*, has been of late most audaciously pursued. It has been said in direct Terms * that *if his late Majesty had put the Administration into any other Hands, he would have been unjust to those brave Men, who had done and suffered much to serve him*; *and that he would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if he had not employed the Men, whom he did employ.*—— Here, again, there might be room for some particular Reflections, if I was disposed to make them. But I avoid this invidious Part as much as my Subject will allow me to do; and shall therefore content myself with desiring these *bold Writers*, their *Inspectors* and *Patrons*, to consider what the necessary Consequences of such Positions are. If they dare to assert that his *late Majesty would have been unjust*; *that he would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if he had not employed the Men he did employ*; what might they not assert if his *present Majesty* should, at any Time, think fit, in his great Wisdom and Goodness to his People, to remove some of *those very Men*, whom his royal Father did

* *London Journal, May* 15, 1731.

did employ? The Aſſertion is not even extended to *Party*. It would have been ſtill indecent if it had. But it is confined to a certain Number of *particular Men*; as if the Zeal for the *Proteſtant Succeſſion in the preſent Royal Family* had not been directed, as it moſt certainly was, to the *national Advantage*, but had been intended, as to be ſure it was not, for the Advantage of *particular Men*, and to perpetuate the Adminiſtration in a *private Family*. This is ſuch Language, as I believe was never held before, and as no Man would preſume to hold now, if the Encouragement to it did not proceed from *thoſe*, by whom it ſhould be diſcountenanced and puniſhed.

There is *another Fact*, which I muſt not omit to take Notice of in this Place; becauſe though it is not one of thoſe, on which the *Craftſman* made his Challenge, yet it hath been poſitively aſſerted by him, and half of it at leaſt as poſitively denied by the *Remarker*.

The *Craftſman* ſaid *that the Mercy of the late King was extended to the Gentleman*, we ſpeak of, *unaſked and unearned*. That it was *unearned* the *Remarker* thinks probable; and in thinking ſo he gives the Lye to all his *Fellow-Scribblers*, who have ſo often affirmed the contrary. That it was *unaſked*, he ſays, is a downright Falſhood. He hath the *Journal-Book of the Houſe of Commons* before him; and there he finds *that the*

Houſe *was acquainted, by his late Majeſty's Command, in* April 1725, *that* this Gentleman *had, about* ſeven Years *before, made his humble Application and Submiſſion, &c. which his Majeſty ſo far accepted as to give Encouragement to hope for ſome future Mark of his Majeſty's Favour and Goodneſs.*——In this he exults; but here again the *Effrontery* and *Falſhood,* which he charges on others, will recoil on himſelf. Who drew this *miniſterial Meſſage* I know not; nor how far the Style of it may be neceſſary, according to the Forms uſual on ſuch Occaſions; but the *Remarker* might have known, if he had conſulted even his *Patrons,* that his Majeſty's Mercy had been extended to *this Gentleman* two Years before the *ſeven* there mentioned; and that this Mercy did not conſiſt in *Encouragement to hope for ſome future Mark of his Majeſty's Favour and Goodneſs,* but in a gracious and abſolute Promiſe of his Favour *in the full Extent, which the Circumſtances of that Gentleman required.* I may be the more bold in affirming this Fact, becauſe the *noble Lord,* who delivered the Meſſage I quote, is ſtill alive, as ſome other Perſons are, to whom his late Majeſty was pleaſed to own that *this Meſſage* had been delivered by his Order, and to expreſs his gracious Intentions conformably to it.——But to proceed.

It appears moſt undeniably that of the *three Heads,* on which the *Craftſman* gave, and

and the *Remarker* accepted, the Challenge, the *Remarker* hath ſhewn himſelf unable to prove the *firſt* by any *true Facts*, and hath ſcandalouſly attempted to do it by *falſe ones*; that he hath given up the *ſecond*; and that he hath not ſo much as attempted to prove the *third*.

Let us aſk now, ſhall Men, thus plainly convicted of Calumny on Accuſations brought ſo often and charged ſo peremptorily by them, expect Belief, when they endeavour to defame in any other Caſe? Shall they who are convicted of accuſing falſely in Caſes, which are plain in their Nature, where no Proof can be wanting, and where no Pretence can be alledged for not producing it, expect that the Publick ſhould condemn any Man, and eſpecially a Man, who is under ſo many Circumſtances of Diſadvantage, peculiar to his ſingular and unexampled Situation, becauſe they affirm him guilty in Caſes, which are intricate in their Nature, and where Reaſons of Honour, of Prudence and of Decency may all concur to impoſe Silence? How often have the *noble Pair* defended themſelves, and been defended by others, on this Principle; that no Man ought to charge another, unleſs he is able and ready to prove the charge? How often have they called for Proof on this Principle, and triumphed that it was not immediately brought? Now, although this Defence may not be ſufficient in every Caſe, where Mat-

ters of *present Transaction* are concerned and where the *Persons attacked* are in actual Possession of the greatest Power; yet surely it may be thought, with Reason, to be a sufficient Defence, when Matters *long ago transacted*, and long ago *censured* too, are concerned; when the *Persons*, who *attack*, are in actual Possession of the greatest Power; and the *Person*, who is *attacked*, hath none of those offensive, or defensive Weapons at his Command, which Power furnishes in so abundant a Manner.

The *Remarker* thinks that no *Reasons of Honour, Prudence, or Decency ought to shut the Mouth of Innocence; that Shame and Guilt alone are silent in the Day of Enquiry* ——When this *Day of Enquiry* is to come, and *who* is to be the Subject of it, I know not; but let him learn that there are many Cases, wherein it is not *honest*, and many others may occur wherein it is not *prudent*, to say all that might be said either in Defence or in Excuse; that is, when the Defence or Excuse of *ourselves* must affect *others*, not concerned in the Debate. In such Cases the most Innocent will rather bear the Imputation of imaginary Crimes, by keeping Silence, than be guilty of a real Crime, by breaking it; and to carry this as far as it can be carried, Instances might be produced of Men, who have died, rather than accuse others, whose Blood was thirsted after more than theirs.

Much hath been said, and great Complaints

plaints have been made, of the *Torture*, as it is called in *this Libel*, given to *another Gentleman's* Actions. If, by this, be meant ransacking into all the private and publick Passages of his Life, and wresting every one into a Crime; far be it from me to approve in *his Case*, what I abhor *this Libeller* for doing in the Case of *another*. But is it really so? Have we seen Accusations of *Treachery* and *Ingratitude* towards several, who are dead, and towards any, who are living, insisted upon, in the former Case? Has it been reproached to the *Patrons of the Remarker*, that they wormed out of Power a *Person*, to whom they were nearly allied and ought to have been firmly attached by Gratitude and Friendship? and yet is that a Subject, which affords nothing to be said? Are there no Circumstances, which might be aggravated at least? Are there no strong Colours, which might be laid? Even I should not be at a Loss to do it, if I thought it fair to do it; if I thought it honest to push any Man to a Silence, of which I might take a seeming Advantage, or to a Necessity of justifying or excusing himself by saying what, supposing him innocent, he ought not to say. Are there no Facts relating to *former Transactions* of great Importance not commonly known, and yet not absolutely Secrets, which remain still unmentioned? ——In short, is it not apparent that there are Men, who accuse, indeed, *when the im-*

mediate Subject of Debate leads, and provokes them necessarily and unwillingly to it, whilst there are others, who wait for no such Necessity, but accuse meerly to *defame*.

It would be tedious, not difficult, to go through this whole *Invective*; to deny with Truth many Things, which are falsely affirmed; and, by giving a just Turn to others, to set them in a very different Light from that, wherein the *Author* exposes them to publick View; to explain what he perplexes; to distinguish what he confounds. But I shall not take this Task upon me, for the Reasons I have given, and for others, which I am going to give.

As to the Conduct, which the *Person*, against whom such Torrents of Ribaldry are poured forth, held towards *those*, who were at the Head of Affairs, whilst he was in Business, I shall only add to what hath been said already, what no Man of Candour will deny; that the Heat and Animosity, which *perpetual Contests and frequent Turns of Party* raise, have carried many (perhaps, the *Person*, who is blamed; perhaps, the *Persons*, who blame him) to do, what in any other Situation, or Temper of Mind, they would carefully avoid; in a Word, that the just Man hath been, on such Occasions, sometimes unjust; the good-natured Man ill-natured; and the friendly Man unfriendly. Few there are, I fear, who could with a safe Conscience take up the first Stone upon

ſuch a Trial. Few there are, who are blameleſs. But here is the Difference. The juſt, the good-natured, the friendly Man returns to the Character, out of which he ſtarted. The unjuſt, the ill-natured, the unfriendly Man perſiſts. The *firſt* reflects with Sorrow on what the *laſt* reflects with Triumph; and whilſt *one* wiſhes undone what the Heat of *Party* carried him to do, the *other* is glad of the Excuſe of *Party*, ſuch as it is, to indulge the Viciouſneſs of his own Nature, and to repeat unjuſt, ill-natured and unfriendly Actions to the *Living* and even to the *Dead*.

There is an Example before us, which may ſerve to illuſtrate what I have ſaid.—— Great Advantage is taken of a *Memorial* ſent to the late Queen, by the late Earl of *Oxford*, wherein many hard Reflections are made on *others*; but the hardeſt of all on the *Perſon* here referred to. He is painted in the worſt Colours, and accuſed to the *Queen* of the greateſt Faults. Should I deſcend into the Particulars, I might ſhew that the Accuſations were groundleſs, and point out, perhaps, the unjuſt Cauſes of Suſpicions, which were taken, as well as the Motives to the writing *that Memorial*, which I wiſh had never been written for a Reaſon very different from that, which the *Remarker* would be ready to aſſign. But I ſhall not deſcend into any ſuch Particulars, nor give a double Advantage to the *Malicious*, who would be juſt as well pleaſed to have any Handle given

them

them by the *Living* of inveighing againſt the *Dead*, as they are ready to ſeize, on every Occaſion, that which was given them, ſo many Years ago, by *one*, who is now *dead*, of inveighing againſt the *Living*.

The *Perſons*, who had the Honour to ſerve the *late Queen*, in the laſt Period of her Life, have been theſe twenty Years the Subjects of great Clamour. If the Differences, which happened amongſt them ſo long ago, gave in ſome Meaſure, as I apprehend that they did, both Occaſion and Force to this Clamour, it would be ſtrange Conduct, indeed, in thoſe of them, who remain *alive*, and in the *Relations* and *Friends* of thoſe of them, who are *dead*, to preſerve the Spirit of *Difference*, and to aſſiſt in reviving *this Clamour*.

The Day will come, when *authentick Hiſtory* will relate the Paſſages of thoſe Times, without Regard to the partial Views of any *Party*, or the particular Defence of *any Man*. 'Till this Day does come, every one muſt decide, or ſuſpend his Judgment, as he ſees Reaſon to do, and they, who may ſuffer by theſe Judgments, muſt bear it with that Temper and Reſpect, which is due from every private Man to publick Cenſures; nay, even to publick Prejudices.

But what hath all this to do with the Characters and Conduct of the *noble Pair*? Suppoſe the *Men in Power*, two Reigns ago, to have been *Angels of Darkneſs*; will it

follow that the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker are Angels of Light?* What then is the Meaning of ſo great a Clamour, affectedly raiſed on ſo ſlender an Occaſion as the *Craftſman* of the 22d of *May* gave; wherein little was ſaid, and that little with much Moderation, after much Provocation? Why are ſo many Pens employed, and ſo great Pains taken, to divert the Attention of the Publick from *preſent* to *paſt Tranſactions*; from *national Conſiderations* to *perſonal Altercations?* —— The Reaſon is obvious; and no other Reaſon in Nature can be aſſigned. The *noble Pair* have been hard puſhed, on their Management of *publick Affairs*, both at home and abroad. Not only their *Errors* have been pointed out; groſs, palpable Errors; but a long Series of Error; a whole Syſtem of cool, deliberate, conducted, defended, expenſive Error hath been laid open to publick View. What I believe never to have happened before, hath happened on theſe Occaſions. The *noble Pair* have been admoniſhed in Time, and ſhewn the Precipice, into which, whoever led, they were both falling. The Conſequences of their Meaſures have been foretold as early as poſſible, and even whilſt the Cauſes were laying. Surely this Conduct, on the Part of their *Adverſaries*, ſavours more of *publick Spirit* than of *private Reſentment*; and yet, when they have taken Advantage of it, they have ſtopt ſhort and triumphed in their

Eſcape,

Eſcape, as they did in the Caſe of the *Iriſh Recruits*. Theſe very Admonitions, which gave them Time and Opportunity to do ſo, have been modeſtly attributed to *private Reſentment* alone; though nothing can be more manifeſt than this; that *private Reſentment* would have found its Account better in Silence; would have preferred *Accuſations* to *Admonitions*, and would have waited longer to have ſtruck more home.

Sometimes, inſtead of ſtopping ſhort, they have gone on, anſwering for and being anſwered for, till the *Events* have juſtified the *Predictions*; till the Inconveniencies, Diſadvantages and Difficulties, againſt which the *noble Pair* had been warned in vain, have followed and increaſed upon them; till even their *Apologiſts* have been forced to allow ſome Errors, and till they themſelves have confeſſed their *boaſted Syſtem* to be wrong, by *changing* it, and by boaſting of the *Change*. Even after all this, they have complained of *Clamour*; and they ſtill complain, as if there had never been the leaſt Occaſion for it given by them.——How their *new Schemes* are planned, and how they will be purſued; whether theſe *able Men* have failed hitherto, becauſe they ſet out on *miſtaken Principles of Policy*, or whether they have failed for want of Skill to conduct the *righteſt*, we ſhall ſoon ſee.

But theſe are not the only Circumſtances, which have borne, and ſtill bear hard upon them.

them.——In the Courſe of theſe and other Diſputes, it ſeems to have been plainly and fully proved that *ſuch Principles* have been eſtabliſhed, and *ſuch Doctrines* have been taught by the *miniſterial Writers*, as tend manifeſtly to deſtroy the *Freedom of the Britiſh Government*. Such are, the *Dependency* (I mean the *corrupt Dependency*) *of Parliaments on the Crown*; the *Neceſſity of ſtanding Armies*, notwithſtanding the Danger of them to *Liberty*; and ſome *other Points*, which I need not recapitulate. It is ſufficiently known how much, and with how much Reaſon, the far greater Part of Mankind have been alarmed at theſe Attempts; which, if they ſucceed, muſt hurt not only the inferior and temporary Intereſts, but the greateſt and moſt permanent, political Intereſt, which a *Briton* can have at Heart; that of the *Conſtitution of this Government*.

As theſe Things have been objected ſtrongly on *one Side*, ſo Endeavours have been uſed on the *other*, to diſguiſe and to palliate them, or to evade the Conſequences drawn from them. But theſe Endeavours have not ſucceeded. How, indeed, ſhould they ſucceed? As well might *thoſe*, who make them, expect to perſuade Mankind that *Slavery* and *Beggary* are preferable to *Liberty* and *Wealth*, as to make the World believe that theſe Bleſſings can be preſerved to *Britain* by the very Means, by which they have been loſt in ſo many other free Countries.

Since this therefore cannot be imposed; since the Minds of Men cannot be convinced of such Absurdities, they must be diverted, if possible, from the Subject. A new Cry is therefore raised, or an old one rather is revived. Disputes, which inflamed the Minds of Men, whilst the Affairs they relate to were transacting, and the Conflict of *Parties* was the most fierce, are renewed at a Time, when they can be of no Benefit to the Publick, and when the same Motives of *Party* subsist no longer. *One Man*, in particular, is made the Subject of new Invective. Nothing, which Malice can suggest, and ill Nature and ill Manners utter, is omitted to render his *Person* odious, and to represent his *Designs* as dangerous. In the same Breath, we are told that this odious, this dangerous Man is endeavouring to come into Power once more. He stands again a *Candidate for Grace and Trust. He would again administer the Publick, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour. Nothing will satisfy him but the Power, which he once abused and would again abuse; the Trusts, which he once betrayed and would again betray.* These are represented, with equal Modesty and Fairness, to be his *Requests*; and the *Hero of the Remarker*, that is the *Remarker's Paymaster*, who administers the Publick so righteously; who never abandoned its *Allies*; neither the *Emperor* nor *France*; who never sacrificed its Honour to *one*, nor its

its Intereſt to *both*; who never abuſed his Power, nor betrayed his Truſt, through Ambition, through Pride, through private Intereſt, or private Pique; *this Perſon* is applauded for his Oppoſition to ſuch Requeſts for his *juſt and fatal Reſentment*.

What *Fatality* there may be in his *Diſcernment*, I know not; but ſurely there is a *Fatality*, which attends *thoſe*, who indulge themſelves in ſpeaking and writing, without any Regard to *Truth*. How could it happen elſe that the *Remarker* ſhould ſo egregiouſly contradict himſelf, and deſtroy in his 40th Page the whole Drift of his 39th? This *bold* and *raſh Scribbler* takes upon him to marſhal and to characterize inſolently the *Friends of the Man* he rails at. If I was not of that Number myſelf, I ſhould probably ſay more on the Subject. This however I am under an Obligation to ſay; that the Friends of *this Gentleman* muſt be ſuch to his *Perſon*. They cannot be ſo to his *Power*. That he takes it as the greateſt Compliment, which can be made to him, *to have a Sympathy of Nature and a Conformity of Principles and Deſigns* with them attributed to him; that he thinks their Friendſhip an Honour to him; ſuch an Honour as the warmeſt of his Enemies have Cauſe to envy, and do envy; ſuch an Honour as the higheſt of his Enemies would be heartily proud to obtain, and have not been able to obtain.

The

The Friends now of *this Gentleman*, whom he is ſometimes ſaid to *lead*, and who are ſometimes ſaid to *employ him as their Tool*, juſt as it ſuits the preſent Purpoſe of Scandal to ſay; theſe very Friends, it ſeems, the very Men, who defend him, *would never raiſe him above his preſent low Condition, nor make him the Partner of their Succeſs.——However they may employ him*, the *Remarker* and his *Patrons* know how they *mean to reward him.*——Since this is the Caſe, ſince they know it to be ſo; for what Reaſon, in the Name of Wonder, is all this Buſtle made about ſo *inſignificant a Tool?*——Why ſo many Endeavours to raiſe a Jealouſy, and give an Alarm, as if *this Man* was aiming again at Power?——Why ſo much Merit aſcribed to the *noble Pair*, for keeping him out of it?——His *own Friends* would not raiſe him to it.——How ridiculous then is the Affectation of his *Enemies*, who value themſelves on their Oppoſition to him?

Let the *noble Pair* ſtand or fall by their own Merits, or Demerits. I dare anſwer to them and to the World, upon better Foundations than thoſe of the *Remarker's* laying, that their Continuance in Power will never break the Spirit of *this Man*, nor their Fall from it excite his Ambition. His Ambition, whatever may have been ſaid or thought about it, hath been long ſince dead. A Man muſt be dead himſelf, who is utterly inſenſible of all that happens, either to the

Publick

Publick or to *himſelf*; but he who ſeeks nothing but *Retreat*, and that Stability of Situation, which is eſſential to the Quiet of it, hath ſurely no Ambition. Now that this is the Caſe, and hath been long the Caſe of the *Gentleman*, concerning whom I ſpeak, I know to be true, and I affirm boldly. He never had the leaſt, I ſay more, he never would have the greateſt Obligations to any Country, except his own; and yet ſo deſirous was *this Man* of Reſt and Quiet, that he was contented to enjoy them where Fortune had preſented them to him. A little Frankneſs might have kept him *abroad* all his Life, without Complaint. Much Art has been employed to confine him *at home*, and to teaze him there. If forgetting all former Perſecutions, he reſented the *laſt*, would he be much to blame?

I am not conſcious of having ſaid, in this Paper, a Word againſt the Truth; and I am ſure that I have the ſame Truth on my Side, when I aſſert that *this Man*, whom the *Libeller* repreſents to be ſo *turbulent*, ſo *outragious*, and of ſuch pertinacious Ambition, however he might have been willing formerly to have had the Obligation to the *noble Pair* of enjoying, by their Aſſiſtance, the full Meaſure of his late Majeſty's intended Goodneſs, would decline with Scorn, after all that has paſſed, to be reinſtated in his former Situation, at the intolerable Expence of having the leaſt Appearance of an Obliga-

Obligation to *them*. Neither *they*, nor their *Advocates*, can be half ſo ſollicitous to keep him out of *Power*, and even out of a State of aſpiring after *Power*, as he is determined againſt the *firſt*, and indifferent about the *laſt*.

I am ſenſible that all this may appear a little improbable to the *Perſons* I oppoſe. It will be hard for *them* to conceive that the Man, who has once taſted *Power*, can ever renounce it in earneſt. No wonder *they* ſhould think in this Manner. *Thoſe*, who find nothing in themſelves to reſt upon with Satisfaction, muſt lean on *Power*, on *Riches*, or *both*, and on other external Objects. Nay, *thoſe*, who have of the two Vices, *Ambition* and *Avarice*, the *meaneſt* in the moſt eminent Degree; and who would be glad to quit their *Power*, and to retire with their *Gains*, may be afraid to quit it, becauſe they have abuſed it. They may be ſo miſerable as to ſee no Security out of *Power*, nor any other in it, except that precarious, that temporary Security, which is the laſt and uſeful Refuge of *deſperate Men*; the continuing the ſame Violences to maintain, by which they acquired their *Power*; the keeping up of *Diſſentions*, and the *embroiling of Affairs*; thoſe noble Arts, by which they roſe.

But there are Men in the World, who know that there is ſomething in Life better than *Power*, and *Riches*; and ſuch Men may prefer the *low Condition*, as it is called by the

the *Remarker*, of *one Man*, to the *high Condition of another*. There are Men, who ſee that *Dignity* may be diſgraced, and who feel that *Diſgrace* may be dignified. Of this Number is the *Gentleman*, whom I have undertaken to defend; who poſſeſſes his Soul without Hopes or Fears, and enjoys his *Retreat* without any Deſires beyond it. In that *Retreat*, he is obedient to the *Laws*, dutiful to his *Prince*, and true to his *Oaths*. If he fails in theſe Reſpects, let him be publickly attacked; let publick Vengeance purſue and overtake him; let the *noble Pair* indulge for once their Paſſions in a *juſt Cauſe*. If they have no Complaints, of this Nature, to make againſt him, from whence does this particular Animoſity proceed? Have they Complaints of any other Kind to make, and of a private Nature? If they have, why is the Publick troubled on this Account?—I hope the *Remarker's Maſk is now taken off*; that the true Drift of all this *perſonal Railing* is enough expoſed; and that the Attention of Mankind will be brought back to thoſe more important Subjects, which have been already ſtarted, and to thoſe, which every Day may furniſh.

After what has been here ſaid, the *Gentleman*, in whoſe Defence I have appeared, can have no Reaſon of Honour to enter by *himſelf*, or his *Friends*, into theſe Altercations, and if my Opinion can prevail, ſhould theſe *Libellers* continue to ſcold and to call Names,

they ſhould be left to do it, without Reproof, or Notice. The Anſwer now given ſhould ſtand as a *Final Anſwer to all they have ſaid, and to all they may think fit to ſay hereafter.*

FINIS.

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